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January 27, 2025 • $4.95

The New American

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THAT FREEDOM SHALL NOT PERISH

REBIRTH OF THE NATION

How to Restore America

Should America Be a Superpower?
Steve Bonta

The Religious Renaissance of Gen-Z Males
Rebecca Terrell

To Restore the Constitution
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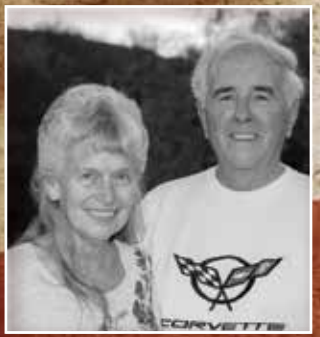

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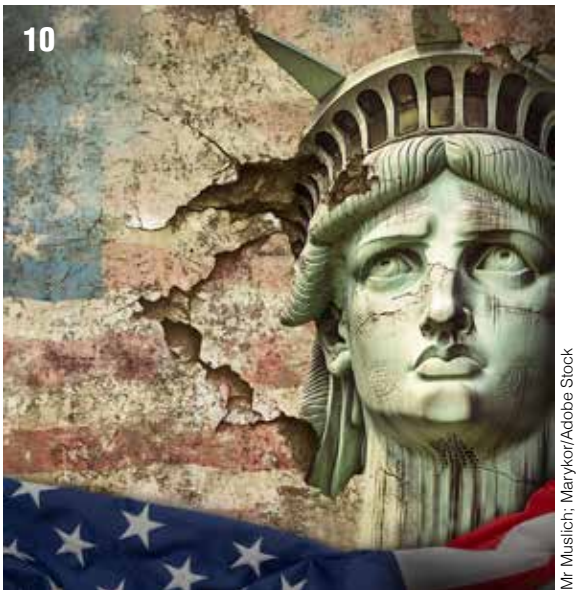

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Follow the Leader?

"Congress must get rid of, or extend out to, perhaps, 2029, the ridiculous Debt Ceiling. Without this, we should never make a deal." Who said that? Surely not a fiscal conservative who wants to hold the line on runaway federal spending! Nancy Pelosi perhaps? Or Chuck Schumer? No, Donald Trump said this on Truth Social on December 20, 2024.

The previous day, the House had rejected 174 to 235 a deal that Trump supported. In fact, he supported it so strongly that he warned before the vote that any Republican who votes against it should be "primaried" — that is, defeated in the primary by another Republican. "If Republicans try to pass a clean Continuing Resolution without all of the Democrat 'bells and whistles' that will be so destructive to our Country, all it will do, after January 20th, is bring the mess of the Debt Limit into the Trump Administration, rather than allowing it to take place in the Biden Administration. Any Republican that would be so stupid as to do this should, and will, be Primaried," he threatened on his social-media platform Truth Social.

The defeated continuing resolution (CR) would have kept federal government operations funded at current spending levels until March 14, 2025, *and* would have suspended the national-debt ceiling for two years. Notwithstanding Trump's threat, 38 Republicans joined 197 Democrats in voting against the CR. For the 38 Republicans who voted nay, suspending the debt ceiling was a bridge too far. As for the 197 Democrats, they did not suddenly become fiscal conservatives. Just as Trump did not want to "bring the mess of the Debt Limit into the Trump Administration," the Democrats wanted to do exactly that.

The day after that vote, on December 20, Trump was still hoping that Congress would pass a CR that would "get rid of, or extend out" the debt ceiling. However, as it turned out, the House voted overwhelmingly for a CR sans the debt-limit suspension later that day. The Senate did the same shortly after midnight on December 21, and President Biden signed it into law, thereby averting a partial government shutdown that would have begun on the 21st without the stop-gap funding that the CR provided.

The shift in how House Democrats had voted on the two CRs was striking. Whereas only two House Democrats voted for the CR containing the debt-limit suspension, a whopping 196 House Democrats voted for the CR without it. In fact, not a single Democrat voted against the CR sans the debt-limit suspension in either the House or Senate. As for the Republicans, 34 House members and 10 senators voted nay. For these principled Republicans, agreeing to the Washington spendathon at the current funding levels was itself a bridge too far, even though the debt-limit suspension was removed from the bill.

The House and Senate votes on the final version of the CR are included in our latest installment of "The Freedom Index: A Congressional Scorecard Based on the U.S. Constitution." (See pages 26-36, House and Senate votes #40.) Please check out the votes. In our view, the combined 44 Republican representatives and senators who voted against the CR sans the debt-limit suspension — and the 38 House Republicans who had earlier defied Trump by voting against the CR containing the debt-limit suspension, though that vote is not included here — deserve our praise for their principled stand.

Our point is that we should never follow a leader when that leader breaks with principle. To argue that we will be much better off with Trump in the White House than Kamala Harris is to miss the point. As Robert Welch, the founder of The John Birch Society, the parent organization of this magazine, observed, "'Put not your faith in politicians.' We shall have to use politicians, support politicians, create politicians, and help the best ones we can find to get elected. I am thoroughly convinced, however, that we cannot count on politicians, political leadership, or even political action except as a part of something much deeper and broader to save us." That "something" includes adherence to principle. And that includes insisting that all politicians abide by their oath to the Constitution, regardless of who they are.

— Gary Benoit

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Court Blocks Law Banning "Trans" Procedures for Kids

On December 11, reported the Daily Montanan, Montana's Supreme Court upheld a lower court's ruling that blocked the implementation of a 2023 state law banning procedures such as "gender reassignment" surgeries on children.

A Missoula County district court had granted a preliminary injunction against the bill — SB99, the "Youth Health Protection Act" — in September 2023, and last month, the Supreme Court affirmed that the lower court was correct. Only one of the seven justices dissented.

The high court in Big Sky Country cited the state's "right to privacy" as the reason for blocking implementation of the new law: "The right of individual privacy is essential to the well-being of a free society and shall not be infringed without the showing of a compelling state interest…. We affirm [the lower court's] grant of a preliminary injunction on the basis of Plaintiffs' right to privacy claim."

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) praised the decision. Said Malita Picasso, an ACLU attorney: "We are so thankful for this opportunity to protect trans youth, their families, and their medical providers from this baseless and dangerous law. Every day that transgender Montanans are able to access this care is a critical and life-saving victory. We will never stop fighting until every transgender person has the care and support they need to thrive."

Montana's Governor Greg Gianforte, a Republican, disagreed: "Children who struggle with gender identity … are entitled to protection, not exploitation. While their young minds and bodies are still developing, they should not be subjected to experimental and permanent, life-altering medical and surgical procedures."

The state's incoming Senate president, Republican Matt Regier, concurred, saying that the court "sided with liberals at the expense of common sense…. Children should not be undergoing irreversible, life-altering transgender procedures. The Montana Legislature will keep fighting for Montanans against this woke craziness."

The ACLU and other activists frame the issue as "protecting trans children," but it's actually about protecting children from risky experimental and irreversible procedures.

Eoneren/iStock/Getty Images Plus

Duke Rape "Victim" Admits She Lied, Apologizes

Duke University black rape "victim" Crystal Mangum confessed that she manufactured her tale when she accused three white lacrosse players of raping her when she performed at a wild party in 2006. A former stripper, Mangum is currently serving up to 18 years in prison for the 2013 murder of her boyfriend. On December 11, in an interview on the *Let's Talk With Kat* podcast, she finally admitted that she concocted the rape yarn.

AP Images

Crystal Mangum

The false accusations became a 24-7 nightmare for the three players when they were convicted in the press by the mainstream media, who blindly repeated the story and smeared them for months.

In a December 12 article regarding the interview, *The Duke Chronicle* recalled that the case also led to the disbarment of the prosecutor for "lying in court and withholding DNA evidence which ultimately absolved the defendants of responsibility for Mangum's allegations." The state attorney general took over the case and dismissed the charges.

Despite that, Mangum repeated the lie in her book, *Last Dance for Grace: The Crystal Mangum Story*, published in 2008. Per *The Chronicle*, "Mangum wrote, 'I will never say that nothing at all happened that night,' after which she provided graphic details of the alleged incident."

However, in her December 11 interview, Mangum told podcaster Kat DePasquale: "I testified falsely against them by saying that they raped me when they didn't…. [I] made up a story that wasn't true because I wanted validation from people and not from God." She told DePasquale that she wanted to apologize. *The Chronicle* reported: "'It's been on my heart to do a public apology concerning the Duke lacrosse case,' Mangum wrote to DePasquale in a letter…. 'I actually lied about the incident to the public, my family, my friends and to God about it, and I'm not proud about it…. I hope that [the players] can heal and trust God and know that God loves them and that God is loving them through me, letting them know that they're valuable.'"

Woman Sues Doctor Who Gave Her "Sex Change" Drugs at Age 12

A woman given puberty blockers at age 12 and a double mastectomy at 14 has filed a malpractice lawsuit against her provider.

The Daily Signal reported on December 11 that Clementine Breen, "now a 20-year-old detransitioner, filed a lawsuit [on December 5] against prominent child-gender specialist Dr. Johanna Olson-Kennedy, alleging medical negligence. Breen says Olson-Kennedy pushed her into irreversible transgender medical interventions at only 12 without proper psychological testing or monitoring of her mental health and the side effects of hormone regimens."

Not only did Breen begin puberty blockers at 12, but she started taking testosterone at 13 and had a double mastectomy at 14.

The lawsuit states that Breen was dealing "with complex mental health struggles." Just the News wrote in a December 9 article that she had "'anxiety, depression, presumed autism, and undiagnosed post-traumatic stress disorder,' … none of which she said the defendants explored." Plus, the news site continued, "The suit details allegations that Olson-Kennedy and fellow defendants CHLA [the Center for Transyouth Health and Development at Children's Hospital Los Angeles], UC San Francisco's St. Francis Memorial Hospital, surgeon Scott Mosser and his Gender Confirmation Center of San Francisco, and therapist Susan Landon 'made numerous material misrepresentations' to get Breen's parents to go along with recommended care. They include that blockers were 'completely reversible'… and [that] Breen would kill herself if subsequently denied testosterone."

Sexual-distortion treatment (SDT) peddlers often use a hard-sell approach with patients and their parents. However, data show the opposite of what the SDT pushers claim. According to the American College of Pediatricians, "Rates of suicide are twenty times greater among adults who use cross-sex hormones and undergo sex reassignment surgery."

Sadly, Breen's story is more common than many may think, and the SDT agenda has destroyed many lives. Child abuse is how many would describe it. In order to end it, those whose incomes depend on it must be sued relentlessly, to the point where malpractice insurers will no longer cover their body-mutilation treatments.

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"Climate Cartel" Strong-arms ExxonMobil

AP Images

Bloomberg noted on December 14 that the House Judiciary Committee released a December 13 interim report purporting to show evidence of a "climate cartel" of financial institutions and climate activist groups colluding to make ExxonMobil replace board members who refused to commit to reducing fossil-fuel production.

In the report, "Sustainability Shakedown: How a Climate Cartel of Money Managers Colluded to Take Over the Board of America's Largest Energy Company," the committee documented "substantial evidence of collusion and anticompetitive behavior" by the financial industry to "impose radical ESG-related goals" on U.S. oil companies.

BlackRock, The Vanguard Group, State Street Global Advisors, and blue-state pension managers colluded with Glasgow Financial Alliance for Net Zero, Net Zero Asset Managers, Ceres, Climate Action 100+, and others to force energy companies to remove intransigent board members and replace them with puppets who would commit to shrinking the fossil-fuel sector. ExxonMobil was apparently the cartel's most prominent target.

"The climate cartel branded ExxonMobil as a 'focus company' on its climate blacklist, … signaling investors to organize a barrage of shareholder pressure campaigns," the report stated. Furthermore, the cartel called for "emission reduction 'targets' that require[d] steep declines in ExxonMobil's production and use of affordable, carbon-based energy."

When those measures failed to make ExxonMobil board members give in fully to the climate agenda, the "climate cartel colluded to 'vote no' against its board of directors to 'show that engagement can have teeth — and that investors are willing to escalate pressure against companies that refuse to act.'" Anne Simpson of Climate Action 100+ said that "Exxon's board members should have hell to pay."

Allegedly, the cartel has used what it did to ExxonMobil as an example to other corporations tempted to drag their feet on climate action, in order "to pressure other U.S. companies to surrender to its 'net-zero' climate agenda."

Climate Action 100+ called the accusations in the report "completely false," and said the organization "doesn't control how shareholders vote, nor has it ever done so." ■

QUICK QUOTES

"There is a line at COP29's food court for the buffet serving meat, another buffet serving meat, and here is the vegan-only restaurant. Doesn't quite look like the same amount of interest by the U.N. delegation here."

Reporting from the 2024 UN Climate Change Conference in Azerbaijan, **Marc Morano** *of ClimateDepot.com noted crowds of attendees lining up to place their lunch orders at all buffet stations except the reputedly "climate friendly" vegan vendor.*

"Very few Americans know that Kellogg's sells a safer version of their cereals, without artificial food dyes or carcinogenic preservatives, in other countries. They use more chemicals in the U.S. version because it is more profitable and because we allow them to."

HumanCo founder and CEO **Jason Karp** *testified before the Texas state Senate Committee on Health and Human Services in November. His organization has helped gather more than 450,000 signatures on a petition asking the food giant to use safer ingredients in the United States.*

"I think we all know that precedent by a court doesn't matter anymore in this country, and people violate laws anytime they want. So, for me, if I violate this law, it's because I want a court to pay attention to it."

Diane Ellis-Marseglia *(D), chairman of Pennsylvania's Bucks County Board of Commissioners, defied a state Supreme Court ruling and voted with vice chair Bob Harvie (D) to count provisional ballots missing signatures, to support Senator Bob Casey (D-Pa.) in his challenge of Senator-elect Dave McCormick's (R-Pa.) election victory. Commissioner Gene DiGirolamo (R) was the lone dissenting voice.*

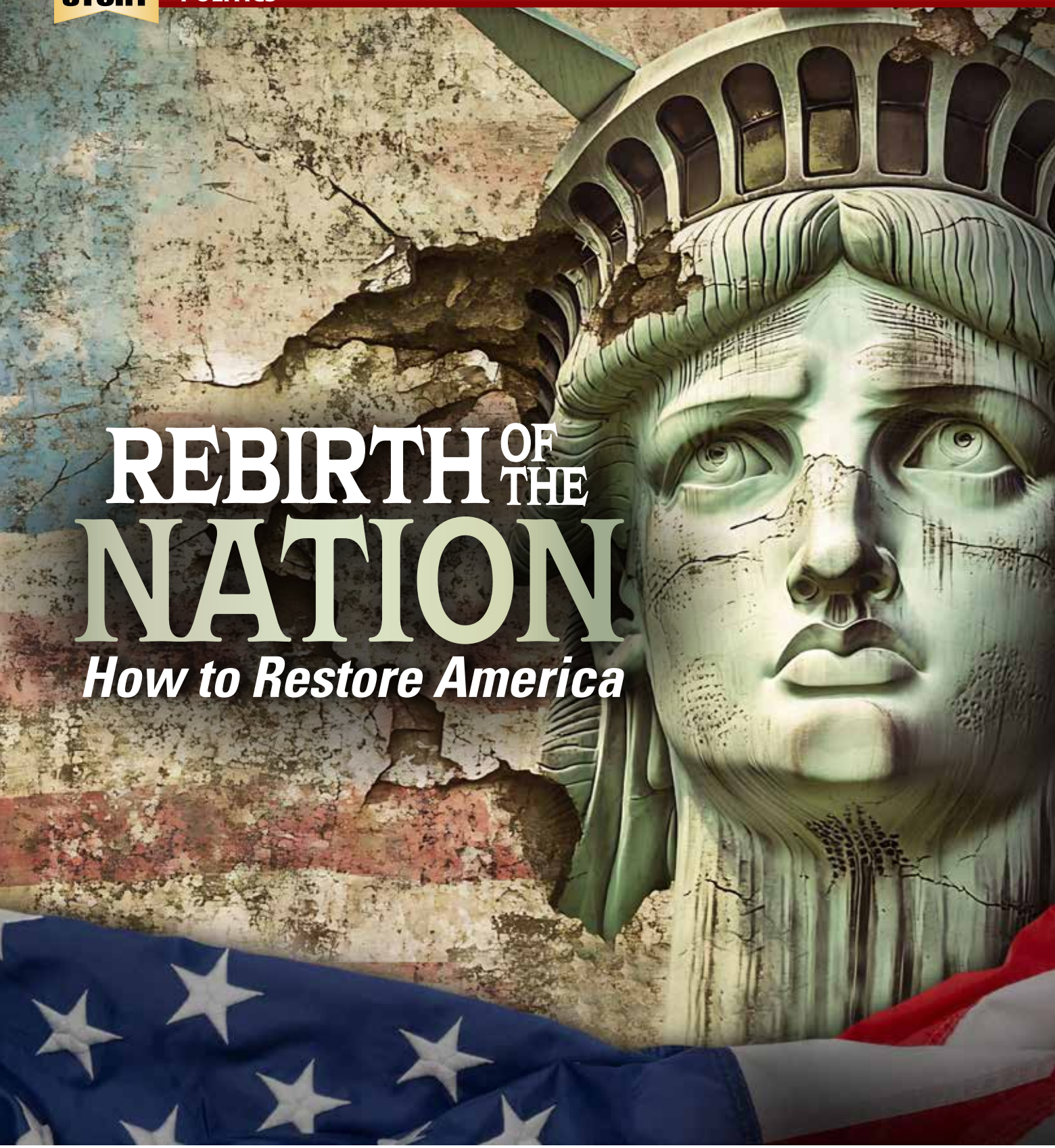
"RFK released a statement in May supporting abortion on demand up until the baby is viable, which is around 22~ weeks. Secretary of HHS is in charge of virtually anything abortion related in exec branch."

Lila Rose, *founder and president of Live Action, posted this message on social media in November after Trump tapped Robert F. Kennedy, Jr. to head the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. She included graphic animation of surgical abortion on an 11-week-old baby, noting, "This baby deserves protection."*

"[This family has] been here 145 years.... They had a boiler that was 60 or 70 years old. And the first week in November, guess what? It went on the fritz — had to be replaced. And the reputation of Holtermann's is impeccable, so rather than commit to something they couldn't guarantee, they said, 'We can't do it.' And the person who besmirched, defamed them, took that as an insult to her[self]. Well, get over it. This family will be here for, God willing, another 145 years."

Vito Fossella *(R), Staten Island borough president, defended local bakery owner Jill Holtermann after* The View *co-host Whoopi Goldberg, on that program, accused the business of denying her service because of her political views, when in fact they couldn't fulfill her order due to equipment issues.*

— Compiled by Rebecca Terrell



REBIRTH OF THE NATION

How to Restore America

Americans realize that their nation has been run into the ground, but Trump's election signals an opportunity to make America great again. Here's what it will take to do that.

by Paul Dragu

On November 5, 2024, America breathed a collective sigh of relief. Donald Trump handily defeated the Deep State network behind the disastrously ludicrous candidacy of Kamala Harris. For millions of Americans, it is now morning in America, and from the countryside to the most bustling of burgs, the smell of hope fills the air.

Americans want a return to sane energy policies that make the most of our abundant natural resources and provide a much-needed respite from high heating, cooling, and grocery expenses. They want woke madness to be sent back to the confines of mental institutions. They crave strong American leadership that seeks and is capable of de-escalating global conflicts, not inflaming them. And they want to take back control of their government from faceless bureaucrats and the Deep State operatives behind and above them who serve and orchestrate the globalist agenda.

AP Images

Rejection of the Establishment: Donald Trump overwhelmingly defeated Kamala Harris in the 2024 presidential race, a surprisingly lopsided contest. Trump received 312 electoral votes to Harris' 226, and also won the popular vote.

When Trump promised to usher in an American "golden age," it was music to the ears of more than 70 million Americans. But it will take more than a strong-willed, bullet-dodging master marketer to bring about an American comeback. Restoring a nation as big, diverse, and full of institutional rot as the United States won't happen if Americans continue to see such an endeavor as a spectator sport. Citizen participation is the key ingredient, especially participation by those seeking a return to the constitutional principles and Judeo-Christian values that made this country great in the first place.

Despite Trump's first-term disappointments — appointing Deep Staters to his Cabinet, replacing the awful North American Free Trade Agreement with the even worse United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement, signing off on spending that added trillions to the national debt, and approving the expedited rollout of the Covid injection that, studies found, was worse than the disease — he is nevertheless the only president within recent history to demonstrate any semblance of a desire and ability to restore the United States to the sovereign, prosperous nation it once was. Trump withdrew the United States from the Trans-Pacific Partnership; pulled out of the globalists' universal "educational" and cultural indoctrination program UNESCO; exited the Paris climate accord; significantly curbed illegal immigration; avoided new wars while successfully projecting strength to the rest of the world; and appointed judges to the Supreme Court with the explicit goal of ending *Roe v. Wade*, a reprehensible ruling that has cursed this land for half a century.

Trump's convincing electoral victory showed that Americans want to reverse the policies and throw out the ideas that have sickened and crippled what was not too long ago the freest, most prosperous nation in history. The election showed that, as a people, Americans reject status-quo, Establishment policies and politicians. As we explained in our 2021 Collector's Edition bookazine *Trumpworld*, there would be no MAGA movement, no Trump disruption, without "Trumpworld," the segment of the population so disillusioned with Establishment policies that they elected Trump in 2016, much to the surprise and chagrin of the globalists, and again in 2024 — to no one's surprise that time.

The 2024 election highlighted another encouraging development: The fall of the legacy media. In October, Gallup released a poll saying that only 31 percent of Americans had any trust in the mainstream media. While a reasonable question to ask is why three in 10 people still believe anything the media says, this is the lowest trust number since Gallup began asking the question in 1972. The media failed in its mission to sway enough voters to Harris, despite her opponent being a "Nazi." On October 23, Harris stepped up to the microphone in her capacity as vice president and declared to the world that Trump was a fascist and that he would rule like the Nazi führer. This was not her assessment, but that of former Marine Corps General and Trump Chief of Staff John Kelly, she emphasized. "It is clear, from John Kelly's words, that Donald Trump is someone, who I quote, certainly falls into the general definition of fascist," Harris said. By invoking a former general, she wanted to make credible an embarrassingly desperate and false ploy. Fortunately, Americans had seen enough. Nobody who wasn't already drinking the Kool-Aid believed Harris, Kelly, or the media. It was obvious to any American with the I.Q. of a cucumber that Harris' campaign was headed toward a legitimate defeat, and that the Trump-is-a-fascist skit was a poorly lobbed Hail Mary. After all, if Kelly was telling the truth, why did he withhold such valuable information for so long?

Paul Dragu is a senior editor for The New American *and co-host of* The New American Daily *show.*

With a president who genuinely wants to put America first, a Congress in the hands of the less destructive Republicans, and a mainstream media that has been neutered and relegated to its proper status of propagandist, the United States is snugly positioned for a comeback — a renaissance, if you will.

American Renaissance Needed

The word "renaissance" means "rebirth." It generally refers to a European period of unprecedented cultural, intellectual, scientific, and explorative domination. It produced titans of history, men such as Leonardo da Vinci, Galileo Galilei, Nicolaus Copernicus, Thomas Hobbes, William Tyndale, William Shakespeare, Ferdinand Magellan, and Christopher Columbus, among many others. The Renaissance changed the world. It brought about the end of feudalism and advanced existing ideas of self-government. It ushered in the invention of the printing press and opened the gates of knowledge for everyday people. It fostered global exploration on an unprecedented scale, revealing a world much bigger than previously believed. And it did all this while building on the already existing foundation of classical Europe.

America needs its own renaissance. That will require not only massive policy shifts, but a cultural and moral transformation as well.

The United States has become something the Founders detested and never wanted, something most Americans today reject, something more citizens would object to if they only knew what was going on.

Our leaders, in the name of "spreading democracy" and other deceptive nonsense, have used America's military and monetary might to turn the nation into an international bully that goes abroad in perpetual search of monsters to destroy. For decades, the United States has officially and covertly meddled in the policies and elections of other countries, including Afghanistan, Belarus, Georgia, Iran, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Libya, Syria, and Ukraine. The Department of Defense has built more than 120 U.S. bases worldwide, with more than 200,000 U.S. soldiers stationed around the globe. And those are just the official numbers. To many on the outside, *America* is the monster.

The perception of America as an international bully, while accurate, doesn't reflect the will of the American people. There's a wide chasm between the people and their self-appointed rulers. Americans don't want their country to be an empire *or* the world's policeman. According to a CBS-YouGov poll published November 25, 2024, more than half of the country opposes sending aid and weapons to Ukraine. The Pew Research Center found that 56 percent of Americans want the United States to play a minor role or no role at all in Israel's war against Hamas. Let's not forget that every presidential candidate since time immemorial has run on a campaign of peace. This clearly indicates that Americans don't want to be involved in wars, directly or indirectly, and that their leaders know this.

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Real money: In 1971, President Richard Nixon permanently abolished the gold standard and ushered in the age of fiat money, leading to inflation and a commensurate rise in prices ever since. The dollar must once again be backed by precious metals to end this madness.

Restore Real Money

For the Republic to be restored, America must once again embrace a noninterventionist foreign policy. And one of the most important steps toward making that a reality is ending the Federal Reserve bank and reestablishing a bimetallic money system.

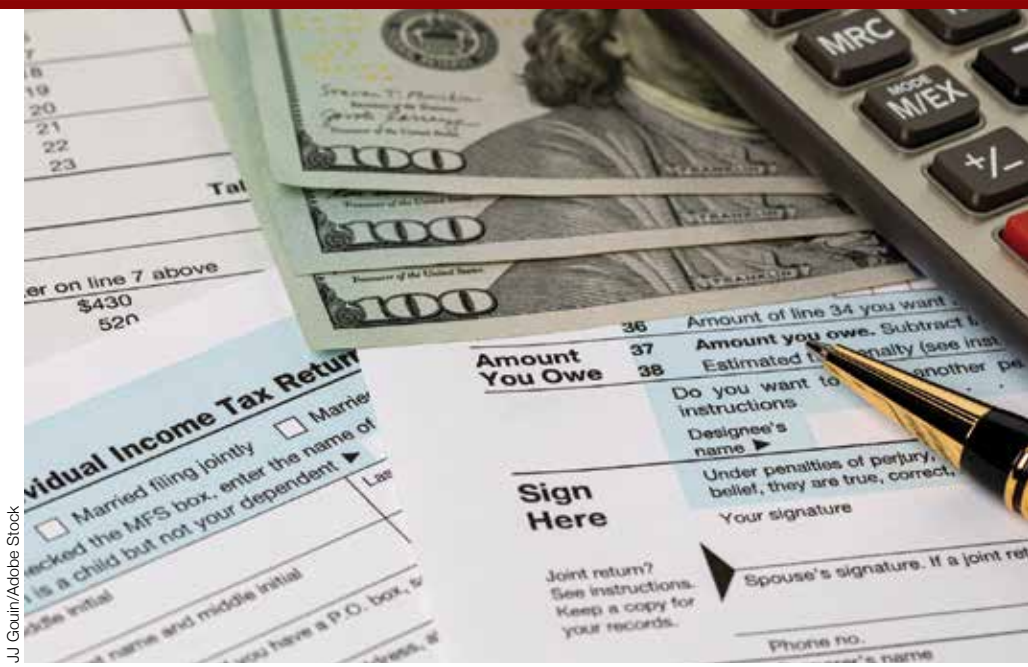
The Fed, despite its deceptive name, is a quasi-governmental agency, a public-private partnership — the very definition of fascism. It operates independently of congressional oversight. Two days after Trump was elected to be the 47th president, Fed Chairman Jerome Powell held a press conference during which he said he would not comply with any presidential request that he step down before his term ends in May 2026. Powell said the president lacks the legal authority to fire the Fed chairman.

The Fed is a major reason America can wage "forever wars." Without the Fed creating fiat money out of thin air, U.S. involvement in wars would likely come to a screeching halt. The Fed funds wars and foreign aid by lending to the government so the people don't have to pay for it directly via taxes. This prevents outrage and resistance from a population that has yet to see the bill. Ending the Fed would put an end to the madness. Imagine if with every foreign-aid package or military operation, voters had their paychecks further docked. The public would notice the next time the geniuses at the Pentagon think it a good idea to drop bombs in the Middle East or wage proxy wars against nuclear-armed nations.

The other side of this coin is a much-needed return to a bimetallic money system. This would not only make wars more difficult to fund, but would stop the looting of Americans' paychecks. A $100,000 house in 1967 cost more than $1 million in 2024. A $20,000 car in 1964 cost nearly $204,000 in 2024. And for $100, consumers in the 1980s could fill their grocery carts. Today, $100 won't even fill up half a cart.

Mainstream economists refer to price increases as "inflation," but that's inaccurate. Inflation is an increase in the quantity of currency, which lowers the value of existing currency. This definition was the standard up until 2003.

Prices rise as the value of the dollar falls. Paper currency used to be redeemable in gold or silver, but Richard Nixon abandoned the gold standard in 1971. Now the American dollar is backed by nothing but government fiat. The economic wizardry of printing money at will robs the American worker because it devalues his money. A bimetallic system, however, would drastically reduce, if not completely end, infusions of money into the system because the supply would be constrained to available precious metals.



JJ Gouin/Adobe Stock

Pay your fair share: In 1913, Congress ratified the 16th Amendment, loading onto the middle class the burdensome graduated federal income tax. The income tax allowed for the massive expansion of the federal government throughout the 20th century.

Abolish the Income Tax, IRS

Another important step to restoring wealth and the greatness of the Republic is abolishing the income tax — and the IRS with it. The Founders never intended for the federal government to burden the governed with an income tax. Sheldon Richman of the Future of Freedom Foundation pointed out in his October 2024 syndicated column "Abolish the Income Tax and IRS" that America "was founded by colonists who were sick of arbitrary rule by tyrants who saw them as mere subjects to be looted and humiliated."

In 1819, Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall wrote in the case *McCulloch v. Maryland* that "The power to tax involves the power to destroy." In 1895, more than a century after the nation's founding, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Pollock v. Farmers' Loan and Trust Company* that directly taxing Americans' income was unconstitutional. Back then, the government raised revenue by putting tariffs on imports and excise taxes on items like horses and carriages. Those were "indirect" taxes on consumption. They gave citizens power over their tax burdens by controlling their purchases. But in July 1909, Congress passed the 16th Amendment to the Constitution, and by 1913, the amendment had been approved by enough state legislatures to make it law.

The graduated income tax is a communist idea. It's the 2nd plank of *The Communist Manifesto*. For more than a century, the federal government has been looting the paychecks of the governed with it. They've used hard-earned, taxpayer money to fund unconstitutional wars and grow the size of government. They've created a stack of agencies that take and redistribute taxpayer wealth through welfare programs. They've created other agencies — the Environmental Protection Agency and the U.S. Department of Agriculture, for example — that have instituted hundreds of enforceable regulations without legislative approval. Many of those regulations have suffocated small businesses and prevented an unknown number of entrepreneurs from entering the business world.

The federal income tax was sold to Americans as something that would be leveled only against the rich. But, as everyone who receives a paycheck knows, that's not how it played out.

Former GOP Texas Congressman Ron Paul said this about the income tax in a January 2023 column:

> The major problem with the income tax, and the reason it must be eliminated, not merely "reformed," is that it is rooted in the idea that the government has first claim on our income. This idea is incompatible with a free society. Furthermore, the income tax must also be repealed because the force of the IRS, along with the fraud of the Federal Reserve, is one of the two foundations of the welfare-warfare state that erodes our liberty and prosperity.

Disarm the Weaponized Justice System

Speaking of the erosion of liberty and the need to abolish agencies, another vital piece to restoring the American experiment is addressing the police agencies that have turned against the people they were charged with serving. *TNA* senior editor William F. Jasper pointed out in our June 29, 2023 issue that intelligence agencies have been "an indispensable arm of the Deep State coterie that is dismantling our Republic and the moral-social fabric of our society to shape us into a New World Order that would resemble the dystopia of Communist China."

The intelligence community created the propaganda campaign that dubbed the contents of Hunter Biden's lost laptop a Russian intelligence operation. On the eve of the 2020 presidential election, 51 spooks signed a letter saying that's what it was. The irony is that it was really an *American* intelligence operation weaponized against Americans. The laptop genuinely belonged to Hunter, and the information within it was authentic and implicated Hunter and his family in a foreign influ-

ence-peddling racket. Nevertheless, the spooks' letter resulted in the suppression of the *New York Post's* story about the laptop. Major social-media platforms blocked its circulation, and the mainstream media parroted the script put out by the intelligence community. Many believe that the laptop story, had it been widely reported, would have prevented a Joe Biden presidency.

As for the FBI, it has become the American Stasi. Agents have broken down the doors of harmless, law-abiding citizens whose sin was going in or near the Capitol on January 6, 2021. The FBI has infiltrated conservative Catholic churches. Agents have tracked and surveilled citizens who visited D.C. on January 6. They've spied on Americans' bank accounts. They plant propaganda in newspapers. They raided Trump's home in Florida. Before that, the FBI launched the Trump-Russia collusion hoax, an operation that was spurred on by unverified research funded by Trump's chief political opponent, Hillary Clinton. And, of course, the FBI has tirelessly worked to destroy the MAGA movement. Republican Louisiana Congressman Clay Higgins' office has investigated J6, and he's convinced that FBI agents were embedded in the crowd and in the Capitol before people ever broke through. He, along with many others, believes the FBI is at least partly behind the violence that erupted that day.

The intelligence community needs to be thoroughly investigated, with parts of it being reformed and others completely shuttered. Some patriots, including Ron Paul, say the FBI needs to be abolished. If the intelligence agencies are not brought to heel, they will sabotage effective attempts at national restoration and eventually destroy the nation.

Make America States Again

America's Founders designed a *United States* in which the states reign supreme over the federal government. As James Madison explained in *The Federalist*, No. 45, the Constitution intentionally gives the federal government only the "few and defined" powers necessary to conduct certain and specific duties as an agent of the states. The states created the federal government for their mutual benefit and interests. Unfortunately, this has changed for the worse. The federal government now controls, through the Department of Education, what children in every state "learn"; it dictates health protocols through the Department of Health and Human Services; and it creates piles of enforceable anti-growth regulations through the Environmental Protection Agency.

This is a short list of responsibilities the federal government has usurped from the states. The U.S. Constitution doesn't allow for any of the above-mentioned agencies.

Until Congress ratified the 17th Amendment, which provides for the direct election of U.S. senators by popular vote in each state, state legislatures elected their U.S. senators. The Senate was originally intended to represent the interests of the state governments, whereas the House of Representatives was to represent the interests of the people who directly elected its members. But thanks to the 17th Amendment, state governments no longer have representation in Congress, and their direct influence in the federal government is neutralized. The 17th Amendment needs to be fully repealed, and we need to return to state legislatures electing U.S. senators in accordance with Article I, Section 3, Clauses 1 and 3 of the Constitution.

Thanks to lies repeatedly taught in government schools and by the media, Americans believe that every law Congress passes, every presidential executive order, every federal regulation, and every Supreme Court ruling is the "supreme law of the land" and must be obeyed. This is false. As we noted in our October 14, 2024 issue, "This widespread belief stems from a misunderstanding of Article VI and what has long been erroneously called the 'Supremacy Clause.' *Nowhere* does Article VI, or any other part of the Constitution, authorize or declare that the federal government and all federal laws have supremacy over state governments and state laws." The answer?

> As such, and in accordance with their oath of office, members of the state legislatures are to regard such "laws" as nothing more than *usurpa-*

Original intent: The Founding Fathers designed a system in which the states reign supreme over the federal government. The federal government's power has since grown to eclipse that of the states. It's time to restore the Founders' original design and make America states again.

Ralph/Adobe Stock

tions, and either ignore them or declare them to be null, void, and of no legal effect within the borders of their sovereign states.

States must practice nullification, which is when state legislators ignore and declare null or void federal acts that are not allowed by the Constitution. In short, it's time to make America *states* again. You can read more about how to do this in the issue referenced above.

Get US Out! of the UN

The last major reform needed for an American comeback that we'll mention (this isn't an exhaustive list) is severing ties to international organizations such as the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The UN beast includes the tentacles of the World Health Organization (WHO); World Trade Organization; UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; and others. John Birch Society Founder Robert Welch considered the UN the head of the globalist snake. That's why he launched the "*Get US Out!* of the United Nations" action program in 1962. For more than 60 years, Birchers have been warning their fellow Americans about the dangers of the UN.

The people within the UN, unlike America's Founding Fathers, believe that individual liberty comes from governing bodies, not God. It's an organization littered with communist globalists — it always has been. One of the founders was Alger Hiss, a U.S. State Department official who happened to be a Soviet spy. Today, UN advocates and officials openly admit that the purpose of the UN has always been to create global government. In the November/December 2024 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, a thoroughly globalist publication, former UN official Thant Myint-u advocates for global government. Talking about the beginnings of the organization, he says, "The seeds of a future planetary government were evident from the start." Later he adds that "a hopeful vision of global government persisted." In that same article, he bemoans what he sees as a missed opportunity for the United States to build "the foundation of a UN-centered world government."

The UN has helped facilitate mass migration into Europe and America, triggering Brexit and similar movements in other European nations. It introduced Covid jab mandates and "vaccine" passports through the WHO during the Covid hysteria period. The UN is the source of green policies that are destroying European nations. For decades, the international body has pressured nations to reduce and ultimately end fossil-fuel production. The people running Joe Biden's administration swallowed this nonsense hook, line, and sinker, triggering the largest spike of consumer energy prices in recent memory. Making the hoax even worse is the fact that Eastern countries don't comply with any of the UN's half-witted green policies. So while Western countries become poorer and weaker, China and Russia are building coal-fired and nuclear power plants faster than Kamala Harris can deliver her "significance of time" routine.

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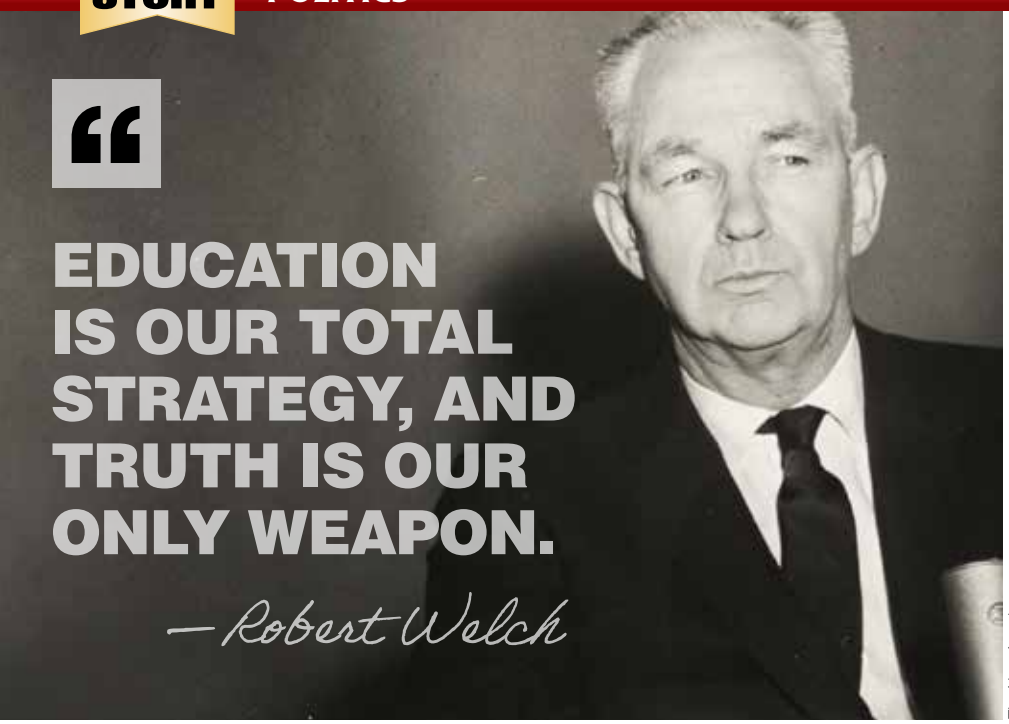
Bad for America: NATO and the United Nations are international organizations designed from the outset to serve as pillars of a future world government. Both are intentionally designed to undermine the sovereignty of nation-states.

As for NATO, it is the military branch of the budding New World Order. Officially, it is an alliance of 30 nations, including the United States, designed to provide collective security. The alliance obligates member states to enter war on the side of any NATO country that gets attacked. But Americans, who pay more into NATO than any other, have nothing to gain and everything to lose. Back in November 2022, there was an explosion in the Polish village of Przewodów, 15 miles from the Ukrainian border. Immediately, NATO members and allies, along with the media, blamed Russia. The U.S. government declared it would "defend every inch of NATO territory," and Poland called a meeting under Article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty. Ukrainian comedian-turned-president Volodymyr Zelensky saw an opportunity. "This is a Russian missile attack on collective security! This is a really significant escalation. Action is needed," he screeched. Fortunately, he was ignored. It turned out the missile was likely fired by Ukrainian forces. The Polish president said the missile strike was probably an accident, and the secretary-general of NATO admitted the missile was Ukrainian. Ukraine never took responsibility; it seems it was using the incident to try to pull the United States into the conflict, which could have led to a nuclear war. This helps illustrate why NATO membership must be scrapped.

America needs to sever ties with all international organizations. Countries should be free to establish bilateral security agreements among themselves, but the UN and NATO bring more harm than the supposed benefits they confer.

The good news is that Americans' perception of the UN has greatly soured. According to the Pew Research Center, only 52 percent of Americans view the organization favorably, down from 57 percent in 2023. And the share who say the United States benefits a great deal has



The New American

dropped from 30 percent to 23 percent. Moreover, the Right is really turning on the UN. During the 2024 Conservative Political Action Conference, several influential figures derided the UN. Former GOP Florida Congressman Matt Gaetz said during his speech, "The U.S. should be out of the UN and the UN out of the U.S." He received thunderous applause. Brexit leader and British nationalist Nigel Farage said, "We want international cooperation.... We want common sense. We want it within the framework of the nation-state, not within the framework of the European Union, or the United Nations, or the increasingly appalling World Health Organization." This too was met with loud cheers. Even Fox News' longstanding voice for the Establishment, Sean Hannity, attacked the UN on his show multiple times.

An American renaissance cannot fully be accomplished without the elimination of the policies and institutions designed to prevent it. Fortunately, public sentiment has already begun evolving in ways that make this possible. This brings up another major transformation needed for the "Great American Comeback."

Changing Hearts and Minds

When Robert Welch launched The John Birch Society (JBS) in 1958, he had two very specific missions in mind: to create understanding among the American public about the conspiratorial forces secretly working to destroy their nation from within, and to organize an effective, peaceful counteroffensive. Welch liked to say, "Education is our total strategy, and truth is our only weapon." This captures the nature of the transformation needed to bring about an American renaissance.

The conspiracy has relied on deception to advance its evil agenda. The reason is obvious: If Americans were told from the beginning that the UN was created to supersede the laws of their country and eventually absorb it into a world government, there would be no UN today. If Americans knew the Federal Reserve was conceived in secret to impoverish and enslave them, there would be no Fed. If more Americans understood that "public education" in America is based on a model created by secular socialists seeking to raise up socialist-minded global citizens, the Department of Education would be a shell of what it is today.

Americans need to learn the truth about the institutions and policies that have ruined their nation, so they can get rid of them. But actions such as changing policies and eliminating unconstitutional departments don't happen by themselves. They happen when the people understand what's truly going on and respond *appropriately.*

Those who know the truth should spread the word. This part is simple in concept. Share good articles with family and friends; introduce others to informative shows and publications; and when the opportunity presents itself, take the time to explain to those who'll listen how this great country has been systematically disassembled from within.

The educational agenda includes bringing attention to the voting records of state and federal legislators. Most federal legislators follow the Constitution less than half the time when they vote. *The New American's* Freedom Index, which can be freely accessed at thenewamerican.com, is the most comprehensive tool to accurately gauge legislators' fealty to the Constitution. Constituents should elect legislators who obey the Constitution, reform those who don't, and oust through the electoral process those who refuse to stay true to their oaths.

In addition to education, America needs a moral revival. Without it, we cannot long remain free, since politics is downstream from culture, and culture is shaped by religious principles. As George Washington said in his Farewell Address, "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports." Despite the revisionist history emanating from universities and newspapers to the contrary, America was founded on Judeo-Christian principles and, up until the 20th century, was overwhelmingly Christian. It's no coincidence that the further we've veered from Christianity as a nation, the more depraved the people have become and the more unstable the nation has become.

It's time to get back to the Constitution. It's time to get back to God. It's time for an American renaissance. ■

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SHOULD AMERICA BE A SUPERPOWER?

Undoubtedly most Americans would say yes. But what if the question were rephrased: Should America be a global empire? Also, can America be both an empire and a republic?

by Steve Bonta

God of our fathers, known of old,
Lord of our far-flung battle-line,
Beneath whose awful Hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine —
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget — lest we forget!

The tumult and the shouting dies;
The Captains and the Kings depart:
Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget — lest we forget!

Far-called, our navies melt away;
On dune and headland sinks the fire:
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!
Judge of the Nations, spare us yet,
Lest we forget — lest we forget!

— *Recessional*, Rudyard Kipling

Steve Bonta is publisher of The New American.

One year after Kipling's cautionary hymn of imperial hubris scandalized Victorian England in 1897, America went to war with Spain following a mysterious explosion that destroyed a warship, the USS *Maine*, anchored at Havana Harbor. The Spanish-American War was brief and decisive, leaving the victorious United States in control of Cuba, Guam, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico. The war brought to a final end four centuries of Spanish colonial rule in the New World and the Pacific, and left the United States as the world's newest global imperial power. The "splendid little war," as then-Secretary of State John Hay characterized it, was partly motivated by American support for Filipino and Cuban freedom fighters trying to shake off the Spanish yoke. No small irony, then, that both the Filipinos and the Cubans (especially the former) soon found themselves arrayed against a new imperial master, one perhaps more benign than its predecessor, but no less resolved to impose its will in the name of civilizing influence.

One American unimpressed with this newly acquired imperial prestige was maverick Yale professor and essayist William Graham Sumner. In a caustic essay first published in *Yale Law Journal* entitled "The Conquest of the United States by Spain," Sumner argued that, military victories aside, the Spanish-American War amounted to a fatal surrender of traditional American noninterventionism to the colonial system of the Old World — a system first developed, and most doggedly applied, by the Spanish monarchy. Wrote Sumner:

> Spain was the first, for a long time the greatest, of the modern imperialistic states. The United States, by its historical origin, its traditions, and its principles, is the chief representative of the revolt and the reaction against that kind of state…. By the line of action now proposed to us, which we call expansion and imperialism, we are throwing away some of the most important elements of the American

> symbol and are adopting some of the most important elements of the Spanish symbol. We have beaten Spain in a military conflict, but we are submitting to be conquered by her on the field of ideas and policies.

Indeed, subsequent decades saw America wage a bloody war against Filipino insurgents, establish a permanent military base in Cuba, and absorb both Puerto Rico and Guam as overseas territories. What Sumner and his anti-imperialist contemporaries did not foresee was the demise of colonialism along Spanish, British, and French lines by the middle of the 20th century, World War II proving the final nail in the coffin. The United States, along with the European colonial powers, divested herself of her overseas colonies (in our case, the Philippines), resulting in a welter of newly minted independent countries in South and Southeast Asia, in Oceania, and in Africa.

The demise of colonialism ushered in the rise of a new age, the age of the superpower, in which overt conquest and colonization were replaced with military bases, financial hegemony, and networks of nominally independent client regimes allied to either the United States or the Soviet Union.

During the bipolar era of the Cold War, the United States and her superpower rival, the Soviet Union, jockeyed for supremacy all over the world. That period ended with the disintegration of the USSR and its entire sphere of interest in the early 1990s, leaving the United States, for a time, as the world's only superpower. The emergence of China and recrudescence of Russian power and assertiveness have given rise to a world dominated by three superpowers, with the United States now consumed with the challenge of summoning enough power to offset its two superpower rivals simultaneously.

Modern Idol: Superpower

For several generations, no axiom of American politics has enjoyed broader and more enduring bipartisan consensus than that America's destiny must be to forever remain a superpower. We are, goes the received wisdom, the only truly benign hegemon in world history, thrust by destiny into our anointed role as global guarantor of peace, stability, and prosperity. Scarcely a dissentient voice anywhere on the political spectrum has ever questioned whether America should have become a superpower in the first place or whether America should remain determined never to relinquish the role voluntarily.

The term "superpower" is comparatively modern, and has only been applied to a few states in our time. Similar in some respects to more traditional descriptors of large and powerful states, such as "empire" and "hegemon," "superpower" refers less to a system of government, or even the degree to which a government can extend its rule, than to the ability and willingness to project power, both military and economic. A superpower by definition is able to project power globally, and is viewed as having an exceptional role in power politics, international finance, and trade.

For modern America, her superpower status has always been contingent on two circumstances: her unparalleled military might and the status of the U.S. dollar as the world's reserve currency. America's world-engirding military forces allow her to project power almost anywhere, backed by the ultimate military ace in the hole, her nuclear weapons. Meanwhile, the fact that the U.S. dollar has been the world's reserve currency since the 1944 Bretton Woods Agreement has meant that the United States has enjoyed an unnatural ascendancy over global finances, dictating terms to countries whose currencies are not on as sound a footing, and exporting some of the effects of her inflationary policies abroad.

America as the world's greatest superpower has had the luxury of conducting policy almost entirely on her own terms for several generations, all the while insulated from the harsher aspects of the military, political, and economic misfortunes that periodically roil the affairs of most other nations. We have had setbacks in war and in economic fortunes, to be sure. But over the past 80 years, no foreign adversary has breached our national defenses, and no economic downdraft has destroyed our commerce and our finances. Unlike Ukraine, the nations of the Middle East, and many of the nations of Africa, we have been spared the horrors of war on our own soil. And unlike Argentina, Zimbabwe, Turkey, Sri Lanka, Russia, and many other modern countries, we have not suffered the agonies of economic and financial collapse.

And yet — with the exception of the Civil War — the same could be said of the United States during much of the 19th century. America then, as now, was a peaceful, prosperous land of opportunity, free of the agonizing uncertainties of Old

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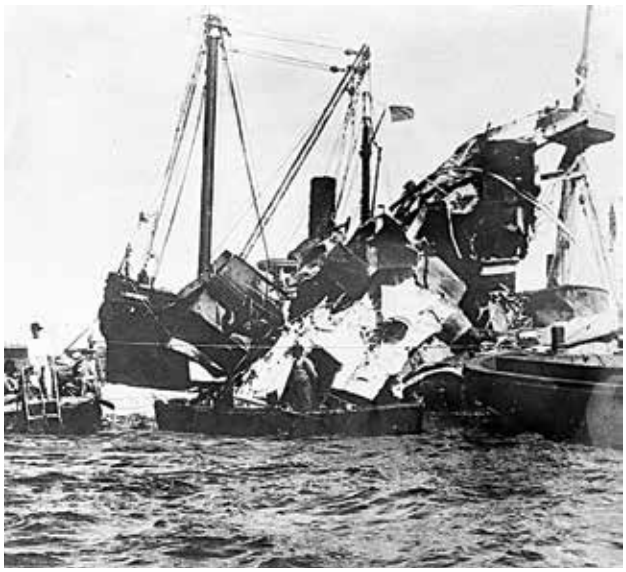
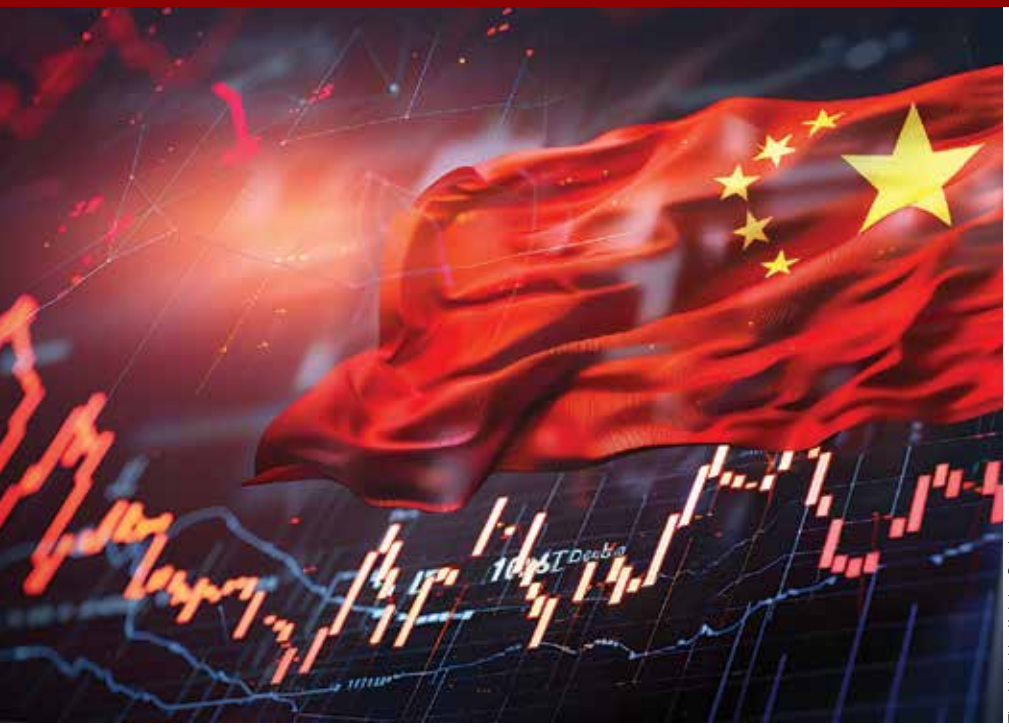


AP Images

Foe of empire: Yale professor William Graham Sumner opposed the Spanish-American War, which began after the mysterious sinking of the USS *Maine* in Havana Harbor. Sumner claimed that the ideology of Spanish imperialism was the real victor in the war.



The Little Hut/Adobe Stock

Young superpower: Gone are the days when the United States was the world's only superpower. Communist China is now a legitimate superpower rival to American hegemony.

World politics, wars, intrigues, and constant economic hardship. But 19th-century America was not a superpower.

It is no coincidence that pre-superpower America was also in closest conformity to the constitutional republican form of government enjoined by the Founders. To be sure, there were irregularities even back then: The grotesque illiberality of slavery and the often inhumane and duplicitous treatment of American Indians, the expansionist war against Mexico, the dictatorial measures of the Lincoln administration during the Civil War, and the genesis of America's overseas empire with the annexation of Hawaii in 1898 all stand as inkblots on the parchment of 19th-century American history. But these spasmodic affronts to republicanism were the exception, not the rule. Americans during that time (and well into the 20th century, for that matter) paid no federal taxes, dealt with no federal bureaucracy other than the post office, lived their lives free of government surveillance and censorship, and conducted their business affairs largely as they saw fit, starting enterprises free of the onerous yoke of regulatory compliance and burdensome quarterly taxes and expressing their opinions without fear of "cancellation" or other forms of public reprisal. Inflation was almost nonexistent, and most people prospered by accumulating savings, including gold and silver coin that was once the token of the realm. In those days, the list of federal crimes was very small, and federal law enforcement had a minimal role. Outside of large cities, law enforcement was mostly carried out by popularly elected sheriffs and their deputies rather than by permanent, professional police forces. Building codes and other local ordinances, imposing costs on business owners and homeowners alike, were unknown. This was the American republic in full flower, and while no one living remembers that time, we cannot shake the sense of irreparable loss, that the almost unimaginable degree of freedom and opportunity enjoyed by our grandparents' grandparents has been irretrievably forfeited.

Republics of Old

But what, precisely, have we lost? In large measure, our republic, replaced by the modern idol of idols, the superpower. It is often maintained that our very freedoms depend upon our remaining a superpower, but the testimony of history suggests otherwise. Consider: Of all of the bona fide republics that have arisen over the past several millennia, not one of them was a superpower. Quite the opposite, in fact. Many of history's republics have arisen on the ashes of greater powers, all of them monarchical. The canonical, but hardly the only, example of this is the Roman Republic, which was the product of a revolt against the Etruscan Tarquinian monarchy, the dominant power of the day on the Italian peninsula. For centuries after its founding, Rome in its golden age remained a regional power at best, gradually gaining military prestige and acquiring territory as a consequence of successful contests against various greater regional powers, including the Carthaginians, the Epirotes, and the formidable Germanic hosts of the Cimbri, among many others. But, as even the casual student of history is aware, Rome at the height of her power — as a bona fide superpower — was no longer a republic by any reckoning.

One of Rome's successor states, the republic of Venice, became one of the great powers of the Middle Ages, but the Most Serene Republic of St. Mark was hardly a superpower. Venice was founded both as a refuge against repeated depredations by barbarian invaders (the Lombards, in the case of Venice) and as an attempt to reconstitute some of the rustic liberties of the Roman republic. For her unmatched economic and religious freedom, Venice became a magnet for international talent, and for her niche prowess at shipbuilding, she became the power broker for the entire Mediterranean, selling her vessels to far-mightier powers in exchange for a measure of protection. But even at the height of her prestige, Venice never wielded anything like the military and political might of the Holy Roman Empire, Byzantium, the Ottomans, or the great Frankish princes.

As the Middle Ages progressed, republicanism broke out all over Italy, with the likes of Genoa becoming a great hub of trade and exploration, while Florence turned into the wellspring of Western cultural progress, giving birth to the Renaissance itself soon after being decimated by the Black Death. These and other of the Italian republics were immensely influential and attracted talent from far and wide, but none of them were superpowers or even significant regional powers.

Nor was republicanism confined to Italy. The Swiss Confederation came into being in the high Middle Ages, and eventually won full independence from the Habsburgs and the Holy Roman Empire

in the late 1400s. From that time to this, Switzerland has been one of the world's freest, most stable, and most prosperous states — but never has it been a superpower or even a regional power. The strength of Switzerland has always resided in its policy of armed neutrality, which has mostly kept it out of the Great Power wars that have convulsed Europe periodically over the centuries — and discouraged would-be conquerors such as Hitler from testing Swiss resolve to defend their territory.

Another splendid example of a republic was the Dutch Republic, which came together rather haphazardly in the context of the 16th-century Dutch revolt against Spanish rule, and matured during the 80 Years' War, one of the longest wars for independence in history. Throughout most of that period, it was all the hard-beset forces of the tiny republic could do to keep the Spanish imperial arms at bay. Yet it was that trying time that produced the first modern free republic, complete with religious tolerance; a cosmopolitan commercial center (Amsterdam); a banking and financial system that was the envy of Europe; a dramatic surge in artistic, engineering, and architectural innovation; an impressive number of scientific geniuses (like Leeuwenhoek and Huygens); the creation of new universities; and, above all, the first flourishing middle class. Indeed, the timeless paintings of the day, from the likes of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, depict a broad range of recreational activities and social gatherings reflective of the first society ever to produce enough surplus wealth for leisure to become a phenomenon of the masses, and not merely of aristocratic elites.

But for all this, the Dutch Republic never became more than a regional power militarily, although its bankers and financiers did enjoy ascendancy over European commerce for more than a century. The Dutch Republic began acquiring overseas territories in the 1600s, in places as far-flung as southern Africa, Taiwan, and the East Indies, in addition to North America — and it is probably because of this that the Dutch Republic, unlike Switzerland, was unable to endure. Her newfound colonial interests brought her into inevitable conflict with the great imperial powers of Europe, leading eventually to the conquest of the Dutch Republic by the French in the 1700s, and her reconstitution as a monarchy (the Kingdom of the Netherlands) in 1815.

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Dutch miracle: The Dutch Republic arose as a revolt against the Spanish Empire, and fought for 80 years to secure its independence. That the Dutch Republic survived at all was a miracle; that it became the first modern republic, complete with a flourishing middle class and spectacular economic and technological growth, was a sign of greater things to come in the West.

Far to the east, the freest Russian state in history was the medieval Novgorod Republic, centered on the city-state of Novgorod. A member of the Hanseatic League, Novgorod was, during its more than 350 years of independence, a center not only of commerce but of culture as well, the envy of neighboring monarchies such as the Principality of Moscow. In its heyday, the Novgorod Republic enjoyed a measure of popular participation in government unequalled anywhere else in Europe, and amassed enormous wealth as a result of the freedom of her citizens. Unfortunately, her riches attracted the covetous eyes of neighboring monarchs such as the Muscovite princes, and Novgorod was conquered and reabsorbed into Russian monarchical absolutism in the late 15th century.

In more modern times, most of the prosperous republics of central and Eastern Europe — the Baltic states, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, and so forth — are fragments of former great imperial powers such as Austro-Hungary, Prussia, and the Russian Empire. All of these today are notable for the freedom and prosperity they confer on their respective citizenries; yet none is a remotely consequential world power, let alone a superpower.

Much the same could be said of many of the modern republics of Africa, Latin America, and Asia, nearly all of which constitute, if not the spectacular political and economic success stories of the Dutch and the Swiss, then at least very substantial improvements in living standards over their predecessor states. But they have this in common: Not one of them is, nor (with the exception of India) aspires to become, a superpower, even though certain of them (Argentina and Brazil, for example) might possess the material and geographical means to become such.

In fact, of modern republics, only India, with its nuclear arsenal and constant appeals for recognition as a world power, appears to share the American ambition of superpower-hood. But India is driven primarily by her twin rivalries with Paki-

Force projection: Modern aircraft carriers are designed to project power all around the world, not to defend one's own territory — which is why so few countries other than superpowers have them.

AP Images

stan and China, believing that anything less than superpower status will doom her to conquest and dismemberment in a very predatory region of the globe.

Unlike India, the United States is not, and never has been, beset about with avaricious rivals bent on territorial expansion at her expense. That this remains true even in an era of intercontinental ballistic missiles and nuclear-powered aircraft carriers is a testament to the enduring power of American geography. What purpose, then, is served by our remaining a superpower?

First, there is the supposed economic and financial advantage conferred by the dollar's global reserve-currency status. The fact that most of the world's commerce is conducted with U.S. dollars means that there is a nearly inexhaustible demand for dollars and dollar-denominated assets such as U.S. Treasury bonds. This in turn gives the U.S. Treasury and the Federal Reserve license to print money virtually at will — and then export much of the effect of inflation that would otherwise be inflicted on the American people. As a result, America has been able to exempt itself from the normal laws of inflationary monetary policy, monetizing its debt on an unprecedented scale while avoiding the hyperinflationary consequences that have beset other governments, from Zimbabwe to Argentina, that have pursued similar policies.

In other words, the world domination of the dollar is a consequence of a global system of fiat money and the inflationism that enables it. Should the United States and the rest of the world renounce inflationism and restore the gold-and-silver standard, there would be no need for a global reserve currency, since all currencies would simply be different amounts of gold or silver. The fact that certain currencies, such as the Spanish doubloon, the Dutch guilder, and the British pound, enjoyed international prestige in centuries past was a reflection of the quantity of such currencies in circulation. Larger economies perforce generated a need for more minting, and so each of these currencies predominated when the national economy of the issuing authority grew, as happened during the Spanish Golden Century, the heyday of the Dutch Republic, and the dominion of the British Empire. But none of these currencies, even at the height of their popularity, constituted a "global reserve currency" that enabled its issuer to dictate financial terms to the rest of the world.

The most conspicuous feature of the modern American superpower, of course, is its peerless military, including its enormous inventory of nuclear weapons and the force-projection capabilities of its Navy. In recent months we have watched American carrier strike groups deployed to the eastern Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean to engage in combat with the likes of the Yemeni Houthis; to deter Iran from heightened aggression against both Israeli and American forces stationed in the region; and, in general, to "send a message." But what message is being sent by our far-called Navy and other forces? Simply that America stands ready to pulverize anyone who threatens our nebulously defined "interests" in every corner of the globe. And all of this, be it noted, is rationalized as "national defense."

Of the nine declared nuclear powers, only three are superpowers, with a fourth (India) trending in that direction out of brute necessity. The other five — France, the U.K., Israel, Pakistan, and North Korea — are in essence untouchable, despite having limited nuclear arsenals. France, for example, maintains her "Force de dissuasion" of about 290 nuclear warheads, sufficient to dissuade any conceivable enemy from attacking her, but not enough to enable her to dictate terms to the entire planet superpower-style. Much the same could be said of Israel and the U.K., neither of which aspires to superpower status, but both of which maintain a defensive nuclear deterrent nonetheless.

The American military is currently configured for far more ambitious ends than mere national defense. As a result, America has morphed into a military republic, where a significant share of government funds is spent on the military, and where a huge number of laws and regulations are dedicated, not to the preservation of individual liberties, but to the maintenance of "homeland security." But if national defense and deterrence alone were the goals, America, like France and the U.K., could make do with much less.

Despite its modern cachet, "superpower" is nothing more than a weasel word for "empire," albeit one of a different form than of the colonial enterprises of yesteryear. And as such, the American superpower-qua-empire is altogether at variance with the republicanism that is our authentic national heritage. Republics, for example, derive their strength from the will of the people and the popular welfare; empires must appease their elites. Republics also depend crucially on principled statesmanship, whereas empires rely on the venal politics of special interests and political parties. Corruption and foreign double-dealing are always features of empires because of the unavoidable paramountcy of "interests" over principled virtue. In our time, the corruption of the Biden family by foreign interests is merely the latest symptom.

Republics enjoy a measure of control over their national destiny — but empires do not, being held hostage by foreign entanglements and court intrigue. As a result, republics generally last much longer than empires, being far less internally unstable and less prone to the vicissitudes of war and conquest. As Sumner presciently warned:

> The perpetuity of self-government depends on the sound political sense of the people [but] we can give it up and we can take instead pomp and glory…. If we Americans believe in self-government, why do we let it slip away from us? Why do we barter it away for military glory as Spain did?

The time is fast approaching — indeed, may already be upon us — when Americans will be forced to choose between the glory of empire and the perpetuity of republic. We were not constituted to hold hostage the destinies of all the peoples of the earth, but only to secure our own. It is a signal irony of our times that, in the relentless quest to spread freedom abroad by force of arms and commerce, we have reduced our own citizens to cowering subjects of bureaucratic absolutism and chattels of a modern system of financial servitude. But this is hardly surprising, since the same elitist impulse to micromanage and control the affairs of other nations will always be applied in spades domestically.

In a coming day, having drawn the envy and reproach of rival powers, as every antecedent empire and superpower has done, we will have to choose to either voluntarily renounce our illegitimate global hegemony — or have it taken from us by force. Only a return to the simplicity and humility of republicanism will spare us the inevitable consequence of imperial decadence. ■

Faith FAMILY FREEDOM

The Religious Renaissance of Gen-Z Males

by Rebecca Terrell

Are young men becoming "more religious" than young women? That's what *The New York Times* reports as an "emerging trend" and "a first among Christians." Correspondent Ruth Graham noted this dramatic shift in demographics, despite the historical tendency of women to be more religiously active.

Her article focused on Generation Z, or "Zoomers" — people born between 1997 and 2012 — and quoted a number of pundits who attest to the flip, from Southern Baptist pastors in Texas to researchers at Eastern Illinois and Baylor Universities.

In this age group, men are surpassing women in both church attendance and attachment to Christian beliefs. "Within Gen Z, almost 40 percent of women now describe themselves as religiously unaffiliated, compared with 34 percent of men," according to the survey Graham cited from the American Enterprise Institute (AEI).

A 2022 study published by Georgetown University found similar statistics for 18- to 24-year-olds: 40.9 percent of women versus 33.1 percent of men do not claim any religion. And *Christianity Today* noted the same phenomenon, with admittedly gloomier results, in an October 2021 survey: 49 percent of Gen-Z women are "nones," compared to 46 percent of men.

Notice that these reports focus on the negative, i.e., those disconnected from religion, rather than those who maintain, return to, or adopt faith. Indeed, AEI's report frames the news this way: "Young Women Are Leaving Church in Unprecedented Numbers," crediting a female exodus from pews, not a male influx. Statista concurs, with data gathered in late 2024 showing that "for both genders, religion is becoming less widespread overall" in the United States, though its survey also concluded that young men are outpacing their female counterparts in church attendance.

What's Going On?

"There is a cultural misalignment between more traditional churches" and young women, who "have grown increasingly liberal," reports AEI. "This has also coincided with the rise in LGBTQ identity among young women — nearly three in ten under the age of 30 now identify as something other than straight."

This trend was the focus of Abigail Shrier's 2020 book *Irreversible Damage: The Transgender Craze Seducing Our Daughters*, as well as Brown University's 2018 study "Rapid-onset gender dysphoria in adolescents and young adults." Both authors attribute the epidemic largely to social media. Gen Z has grown up on it, with the launch of Facebook in 2004, YouTube in 2005, and Twitter in 2006.

Now the glutted industry includes thousands of platforms, and Zoomers spend an average of nine hours per day on them, according to the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry. They inundate youth with trans grooming and lies about girls being oppressed victims of male privilege, a patriarchal society, chauvinism, and glass ceilings.

OMEGA/Adobe Stock

Rebecca Terrell is a senior editor of The New American.

Kostiantyn/Adobe Stock

Few wake up to the fact that girls are indeed victims — not of men in general, but of specific villains who have successfully replaced their admirable femininity with toxic feminism. Filmmaker Aaron Russo named these scoundrels in a 2006 interview with Alex Jones. He recounted a conversation with attorney Nick Rockefeller about the women's liberation movement. According to Russo, he admitted that the Rockefeller Foundation funded and promoted the cause for two reasons: They wanted more workers to tax, and they wanted to "get the kids in school at an early age" to "indoctrinate" them and destroy the family.

Modern society bears witness to their success. Having declared their independence from husband and family, women have demoted themselves to corporate human resources and added the burden of wage-earning to their domestic duties. The subsequent surplus of workers has driven down wages so that few men can now support a family on a single income. Meanwhile, their children can't decide whether they are boys, girls, or some blue-haired in-between.

Moreover, through women's lib, radicals have accomplished a third goal — the alienation and demonization of men. Christina Hoff Sommers exposed the systemic marginalization process in her 2000 book *The War Against Boys: How Misguided Feminism Is Harming Our Young Men*. Schools favor girls and girl-like behavior in both academics and athletics to the point that boys routinely underperform and are more prone to disciplinary problems and learning disabilities. The classroom setting does little to cater to boys' natural inclinations of physical activity and competitiveness, while educators continually spout propaganda that paints men in a negative light and convinces kids that women are oppressed.

Sommers' book came out two decades ago. Yet, more than two decades before that, Harvard Professor Ann Douglas wrote *The Feminization of American Culture*, which exposes the 19th-century origins of women's lib among clergymen, who began emphasizing sentimentality and emotionalism over intellectual rigor and virtuous ideals.

The set-up brainwashed every generation living today, so that now males are stigmatized and masculinity is mocked. Ironically, claiming gender bias against women has unleashed decided gender bias against men. Anyone who dares to point out the resulting cultural quagmire earns the indelible scarlet "S" of sexism.

"Young men hate this and are sick of it," wrote Baptist pastor Phil Mitchell on his 401st Prophet blog. "Feminized Christianity is DOA." He points out what the *Times* article mentioned, that young men are more interested in traditional values and in leading traditional families. "So it's no surprise that since the church is the only one doing this, young men are returning to church."

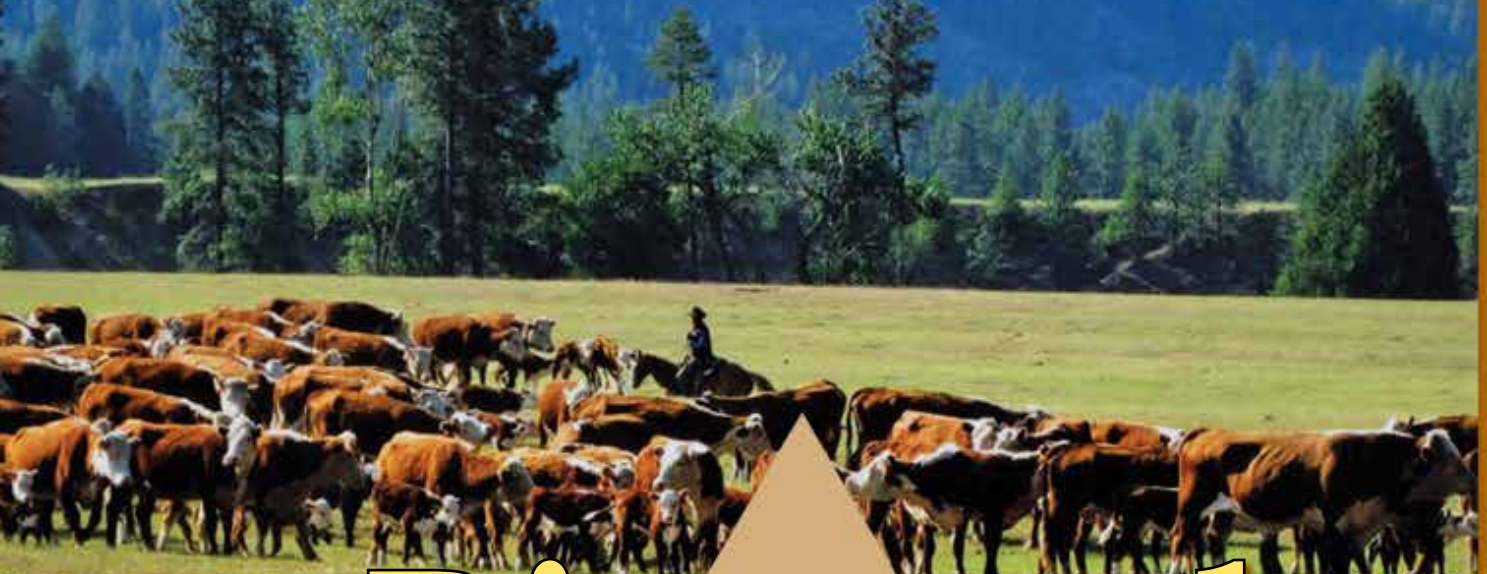
The Positive Trend

Did he say young men are becoming more religious? Is there something that the data aren't telling us? Like the Southern Baptist pastors that Graham interviewed, Mitchell is witnessing the male influx that the surveys seemed to miss. Of course, as Graham pointed out, the Southern Baptist Convention is markedly old-school. For example, it allows only men to be pastors, condemns in vitro fertilization, and teaches that wives should "submit graciously" to their husbands.

But it's not just a Baptist movement. "The 'Catholic version' of the male 'more religious' phenomenon 'would relate, in part, to the growth of more conservative/traditionalist/ "rad trad" constituencies enamored by the Latin Tridentine Mass, home schooling, large families, etc.,'" Catholic University of America Professor Emeritus William Dinges told Catholic news site Aleteia. Father Dwight Longenecker of South Carolina, writing in the *National Catholic Register*, called the trend "remarkable" and said that so many young men have contacted him that his parish has had to schedule extra courses for converts.

Rikki Schlott of the *New York Post* reported the same for Orthodox churches. She said that "masculine" faith appeals to young men, whom a July 2024 survey of Orthodox churches recorded entering parishes in ever-increasing numbers across the country. Schlott interviewed a few of them, who told her that Orthodoxy demands of its adherents manly action: prayer, fasting, and, most importantly, putting God before self. Ben Christenson of Fairfax, Virginia, explained that he found the Anglican church of his upbringing to be too progressive. In the centuries-long Orthodox tradition there is "a sense of structure, of continuity…. It hasn't changed. It's not going to change," he told Schlott.

Will this small but dedicated religious resurgence be enough to rescue our country from the hellish state to which it has sunk? Only time will tell, but it's worth considering that Jesus Christ only enlisted 12 men when He gave orders to "go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." All of them gave their lives in that service within just a few years, but that did not prevent Christianity from becoming the most widely practiced religion in the world for nearly 2,000 years and counting. ■



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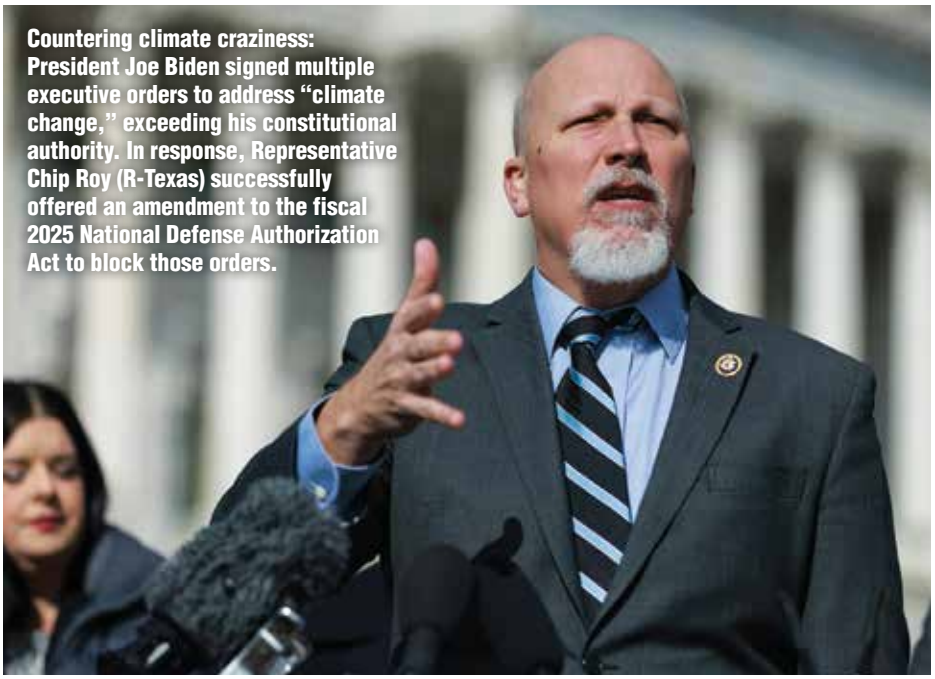
"This is a republic, not a democracy — Let's keep it that way!"

The Freedom Index

A Congressional Scorecard Based on the U.S. Constitution

Our fourth (and final) look at the 118th Congress shows how every member of the House and Senate voted on key issues such as federal spending, immigration, UN funding (House only), and DEI (House only).



Countering climate craziness: President Joe Biden signed multiple executive orders to address "climate change," exceeding his constitutional authority. In response, Representative Chip Roy (R-Texas) successfully offered an amendment to the fiscal 2025 National Defense Authorization Act to block those orders.

AP Images

House Vote Descriptions

31 Climate-change Executive Orders. During consideration of the fiscal 2025 National Defense Authorization Act (H.R. 8070), Representative Chip Roy (R-Texas) offered an amendment to prohibit funds authorized by this bill from being used to implement President Joe Biden's climate-change executive orders, which focused on tackling "climate change," promoting "clean energy," "conserving" natural resources, "improving" refugee programs, boosting domestic semiconductor production, and ensuring "environmental justice" for "underserved communities." Biden's key goals with his executive orders included net-zero emissions by 2050, renewable-energy expansion, and stronger protections for "vulnerable populations."

The House adopted Roy's amendment on June 12, 2024 by a vote of 215 to 210 (Roll Call 256). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because Biden's climate orders exceed the president's constitutional authority, reduce U.S. energy independence, violate free-market principles, and promote global environmental policies that undermine U.S. sovereignty, such as the UN's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

32 Ukraine Assistance. During consideration of the fiscal 2025 National Defense Authorization Act (H.R. 8070), Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-Ga.) offered an amendment specifying that "none of the funds made available by this Act may be used for assistance to Ukraine." She noted on the House floor,

About This Index

"The Freedom Index: A Congressional Scorecard Based on the U.S. Constitution" rates members of Congress based on their adherence to constitutional principles of limited government, fiscal responsibility, national sovereignty, and a traditional foreign policy of avoiding foreign entanglements. To learn how any representative or senator voted on the key measures described herein, look him or her up in the vote charts.

The scores are derived by dividing a congressman's constitutional votes (pluses) by the total number he cast (pluses and minuses) and multiplying by 100. The average House score for this index is 34 percent (67 percent for the Republicans and zero percent for the Democrats), and the average Senate score is 42 percent (86 percent for the Republicans and one percent for the Democrats). Seventeen representatives and 10 senators earned 100 percent. We encourage readers to examine how their own legislators voted on each of the 10 key measures. We also encourage readers to commend legislators for their constitutional votes, and to urge improvement where needed.

This is our fourth (and final) index for the 118th Congress, which served during 2023-24. Our first index for the current Congress (votes 1-10) appeared in our August 14, 2023 issue, our second index (votes 11-20) in our January 15, 2024 issue, and our third index (votes 21-30) in our July 29, 2024 issue. An online version of the Freedom Index is also available (click on Freedom Index at TheNewAmerican.com), as are Congressional Scorecards on individual members of the House and Senate and Legislative Scorecards on state legislators (see ad on page 36). ■

House Vote Scores ✓

	Votes:	31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
ALABAMA													
1	Carl (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	65%
2	Moore (R)	89%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	-	90%
3	Rogers (R)	56%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	?	-	-	56%
4	Aderholt (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	59%
5	Strong (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	63%
6	Palmer (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	69%
7	Sewell (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
ALASKA													
AL	Peltola (D)	11%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	6%
ARIZONA													
1	Schweikert (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	67%
2	Crane (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	98%
3	Gallego (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	3%
4	Stanton (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
5	Biggs (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	98%
6	Ciscomani (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	44%
7	Grijalva (D)		?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	9%
8	Lesko (R)	89%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	+	84%
9	Gosar (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	92%
ARKANSAS													
1	Crawford (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	47%
2	Hill (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	40%
3	Womack (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	40%
4	Westerman (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	58%
CALIFORNIA													
1	LaMalfa (R)	71%	+	?	+	+	+	+	?	?	-	-	74%
2	Huffman (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
3	Kiley (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	38%
4	Thompson (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
5	McClintock (R)	78%	+	-	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	-	79%
6	Bera (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
7	Matsui (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	3%
8	Garamendi (D)		?	?	?	?	-	-	-	?	-	?	3%
9	Harder (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
10	DeSaulnier (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
11	Pelosi (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	0%
12	Lee (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	11%
13	Duarte (R)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	48%
14	Swalwell (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
15	Mullin (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
16	Eshoo (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
17	Khanna (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
18	Lofgren (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
19	Panetta (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
20	Fong (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	50%
21	Costa (D)	0%	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	6%
22	Valadao (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	35%
23	Obernolte (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	45%
24	Carbajal (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
25	Ruiz (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
26	Brownley (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
27	Garcia (R)	75%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	?	46%
28	Chu (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
29	Cárdenas (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
30	Schiff (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		0%
31	Napolitano (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	5%
32	Sherman (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
33	Aguilar (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
34	Gomez (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	?	-	11%
35	Torres (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
36	Lieu (D)	0%	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	3%
37	Kamlager-Dove (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	5%
38	Sánchez (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
39	Takano (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
40	Kim (R)	40%	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	33%
41	Calvert (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	43%
42	Garcia (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	-	?	-	5%
43	Waters (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
44	Barragán (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	5%
45	Steel (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	45%
46	Correa (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
47	Porter (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	?	-	9%
48	Issa (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	54%
49	Levin (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
50	Peters (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
51	Jacobs (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	5%
52	Vargas (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
COLORADO													
1	DeGette (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
2	Neguse (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
3	Boebert (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	92%
4	Lopez (R)									+	-	+	
5	Lamborn (R)	75%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	?	63%
6	Crow (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
7	Pettersen (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
8	Caraveo (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
CONNECTICUT													
1	Larson (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
2	Courtney (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
3	DeLauro (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
4	Himes (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
5	Hayes (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
DELAWARE													
AL	Blunt Rochester (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	3%
FLORIDA													
1	Gaetz (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	+			91%
2	Dunn (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	50%
3	Cammack (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	83%
4	Bean (R)	89%	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	87%
5	Rutherford (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	48%
6	Waltz (R)	86%	+	-	?	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	78%
7	Mills (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	90%
8	Posey (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	85%
9	Soto (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
10	Frost (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
11	Webster (R)	56%	?	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	61%
12	Bilirakis (R)	75%	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	-	-	68%
13	Luna (R)	89%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	-	94%
14	Castor (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
15	Lee (R)	78%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	-	-	59%
16	Buchanan (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	55%
17	Steube (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	97%
18	Franklin (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	63%

The scores are derived by dividing the constitutionally correct votes (pluses) by the total number of pluses and minuses and multiplying by 100. (A "?" means a representative did not vote. If a representative cast fewer than five votes in this index, a score is not assigned.) Match numbers at the top of the chart to House vote descriptions on pages 26, 28, and 30.

"To date, Congress has appropriated $174.2 billion in emergency supplemental funding [for Ukraine]." That "is a lot of Americans' hard-earned tax dollars going to support security for another country's border while our border is being invaded every single day."

The House rejected Greene's amendment on June 13, 2024 by a vote of 74 to 343 (Roll Call 261). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the United States should not interject itself into the Russia-Ukraine war by providing aid to one of the combatants, and should instead follow a noninterventionist foreign policy that puts America first. Moreover, Congress has not declared war as required by the Constitution for military activity.

33 Abortion. During consideration of the fiscal 2025 National Defense Authorization Act (H.R. 8070), Representative Beth Van Duyne (R-Texas) offered an amendment to prohibit the secretary of defense from paying for or reimbursing expenses relating to abortion services.

The House adopted Van Duyne's amendment on June 13, 2024 by a vote of 214 to 207 (Roll Call 263). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because abortion is not healthcare but the killing of innocent human life. The U.S. government should not fund baby-killing and has no constitutional authority to do so.

34 DEI Elimination. During consideration of the fiscal 2025 National Defense Authorization Act (H.R. 8070), Representative Ralph Norman (R-S.C.) offered an amendment to eliminate any offices of diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) within the armed forces and Department of Defense, along with the personnel in those offices.

The House adopted Norman's amendment on June 13, 2024 by a vote of 211 to 208 (Roll Call 267). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because neither Congress nor the president has any business promoting "woke" DEI policies to socially engineer an effeminate, egalitarian, and/or insubordinate culture in the armed forces. Since the Obama administration, DEI-related changes have resulted in not only homosexuals serving openly within the ranks, but women in combat and "transgendered" troops. This subverts order, discipline, and the very existence of the military itself, which is to be provided for by Congress, according to Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution. Federal lawmakers and the commander in chief should, in a manner worthy of self-government, "bear true faith and allegiance" to the same constitutional principles that our nation's service members also take an oath to "support and defend."

35 Migrant Parole Program. During consideration of the fiscal 2025 homeland-security appropriations bill (H.R. 8752), Representative Glenn Grothman (R-Wis.) offered an amendment to prohibit funds in the bill from being used for the "Processes for Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans and Venezuelans" (CHNV) parole program that incentivizes illegal mass migration from those four countries. The program grants work-authorization permits for CHNV parolees despite them lacking visas or a legal right to enter the country. As Grothman noted in support of his amendment, the number of illegal entrants from those four countries apprehended by U.S. Border Patrol agents increased from 17,500 in fiscal 2020 to more than 600,000 in fiscal 2022 under President Biden, who greatly expanded the program. Additionally, the United States does not receive criminal background checks for CHNV parolees from the four countries.

The House rejected Grothman's amendment on June 26, 2024 by a vote of 193 to 218 (Roll Call 288). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the CHNV parole process is an illegally created program, and incentivizes mass migration into the country.

36 Defunding USAID. During consideration of the fiscal 2025 State Department and foreign operations appropriations bill (H.R. 8771), Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-Ga.) offered an amendment to prohibit funds in the bill from being used for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), completely defunding it. In fiscal 2023, USAID's budget was more than $50 billion. The agency is primarily responsible for sending billions of

AP Images

Border breakdown: The "Processes for Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans and Venezuelans" parole program is one of the multiple open-borders schemes the Biden administration has implemented. The House rejected an amendment to prevent enforcement of this subversive program.

	Votes:	31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
19	Donalds (R)	86%	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	+	+	-	97%
20	Cherfilus-McCormick (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
21	Mast (R)	88%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	-	76%
22	Frankel (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
23	Moskowitz (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	5%
24	Wilson (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
25	Wasserman Schultz (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
26	Diaz-Balart (R)	40%	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	43%
27	Salazar (R)	56%	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	?	-	32%
28	Gimenez (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	41%
GEORGIA													
1	Carter (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	49%
2	Bishop (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
3	Ferguson (R)	67%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	?	56%
4	Johnson (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
5	Williams (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
6	McCormick (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	78%
7	McBath (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	0%
8	Scott (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	53%
9	Clyde (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	90%
10	Collins (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	88%
11	Loudermilk (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	79%
12	Allen (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	65%
13	Scott (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
14	Greene (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	97%
HAWAII													
1	Case (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
2	Tokuda (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
IDAHO													
1	Fulcher (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	90%
2	Simpson (R)	56%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	-	42%
ILLINOIS													
1	Jackson (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
2	Kelly (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
3	Ramirez (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
4	García (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%
5	Quigley (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
6	Casten (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	0%
7	Davis (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
8	Krishnamoorthi (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
9	Schakowsky (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
10	Schneider (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
11	Foster (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
12	Bost (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	78%
13	Budzinski (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
14	Underwood (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
15	Miller (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	90%
16	LaHood (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	53%
17	Sorensen (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	?	?	?	-	-	-	3%
INDIANA													
1	Mrvan (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
2	Yakym (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	58%
3	Banks (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	82%
4	Baird (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	55%
5	Spartz (R)	89%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	-	84%
6	Pence (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	44%
7	Carson (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
8	Bucshon (R)	56%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	?	43%
9	Houchin (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	60%
IOWA													
1	Miller-Meeks (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	45%
2	Hinson (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	45%
3	Nunn (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	43%
4	Feenstra (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	55%
KANSAS													
1	Mann (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	75%
2	LaTurner (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	?	?	-	47%
3	Davids (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
4	Estes (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	65%
KENTUCKY													
1	Comer (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	80%
2	Guthrie (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	45%
3	McGarvey (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
4	Massie (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	+	+	97%
5	Rogers (R)	56%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	-	44%
6	Barr (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	50%
LOUISIANA													
1	Scalise (R)	56%	+	-	+	+	?	-	+	+	-	-	56%
2	Carter (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
3	Higgins (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	90%
4	Johnson (R)	83%	+	?	+	+	+	?	?	+	?	-	65%
5	Letlow (R)	78%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	-	55%
6	Graves (R)	56%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	-	49%
MAINE													
1	Pingree (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
2	Golden (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23%
MARYLAND													
1	Harris (R)	89%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	92%
2	Ruppersberger (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
3	Sarbanes (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
4	Ivey (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
5	Hoyer (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
6	Trone (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	0%
7	Mfume (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
8	Raskin (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
MASSACHUSETTS													
1	Neal (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
2	McGovern (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
3	Trahan (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
4	Auchincloss (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
5	Clark (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
6	Moulton (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	0%
7	Pressley (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
8	Lynch (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	?	-	0%
9	Keating (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	0%
MICHIGAN													
1	Bergman (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	63%
2	Moolenaar (R)	56%	?	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	56%
3	Scholten (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
4	Huizenga (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	50%
5	Walberg (R)	67%	+	-	+	+	?	+	+	+	-	-	62%
6	Dingell (D)	0%	-	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	6%
7	Slotkin (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	3%
8	Kildee (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	5%
9	McClain (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	66%
10	James (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	43%
11	Stevens (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
12	Tlaib (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
13	Thanedar (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
MINNESOTA													
1	Finstad (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	78%
2	Craig (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
3	Phillips (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	?	?	?	-	-	?	3%

The scores are derived by dividing the constitutionally correct votes (pluses) by the total number of pluses and minuses and multiplying by 100. (A "?" means a representative did not vote. If a representative cast fewer than five votes in this index, a score is not assigned.) Match numbers at the top of the chart to House vote descriptions on pages 26, 28, and 30.

taxpayer dollars to foreign governments each year in the form of foreign civilian aid, development assistance, and myriad other relief programs.

The House rejected Greene's amendment on June 27, 2024 by a vote of 81 to 331 (Roll Call 308). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because USAID is an unconstitutional agency. Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution neither grants Congress the power to send financial aid to foreign countries nor empowers the president to do so.

37 Defunding the UN. During consideration of the fiscal 2025 State Department and foreign operations appropriations bill (H.R. 8771), Representative Tom Tiffany (R-Wis.) offered an amendment to prohibit funds in the bill from being "used to pay any United States contribution to the United Nations or any affiliated agency of the United Nations." This would have eliminated all U.S. contributions to the UN and its affiliate agencies.

The House rejected Tiffany's amendment on June 27, 2024 by a vote of 149 to 259 (Roll Call 320). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the Constitution does not authorize Congress or the president to enter the United States into global-governance bodies such as the United Nations, which undermines U.S. independence. Short of terminating U.S. membership in the UN — which Congress ought to do — Congress should not send a single penny to the nascent world-government body.

38 Education Department Title IX Rule. House Joint Resolution 165 would block a Department of Education rule that expands the federal government's interpretation of Title IX of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to include protections for sexual harassment, assault, pregnancy-related conditions, and LGBTQ+ status at colleges and universities. The rule would impose ideological mandates that undermine privacy, parental authority, and fairness — particularly in women's sports, where biological males would be allowed to compete. They would also have access to women's bathrooms and locker rooms.

The House passed H. J. Res. 165 on July 11, 2024 by a vote of 210 to 205 (Roll Call 354). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the federal government has no constitutional authority to be involved in education or to prohibit discrimination — real or perceived.

DNY59/Getty Images Plus

Washington spendathon: Last December, Congress passed a "continuing resolution" to fund federal-government operations until March 14, 2025 at the current high levels of spending. Once again, the can was kicked down the road without any reduction in spending.

39 Conservation Programs. Representative Bruce Westerman (R-Ark.) made a motion to suspend the rules and pass S. 3791, the "America's Conservation Enhancement Reauthorization Act of 2024," which would reauthorize multiple conservation and wildlife programs through fiscal 2030. These include the National Fish and Wildlife Foundation, the Chesapeake Bay Program, and programs to conserve North American wetlands and fish habitats. The bill also would increase the authority of the National Fish Habitat Board, and create and reauthorize programs mitigating or providing compensation for depredation by federally protected species.

The House agreed to Westerman's motion on December 3, 2024 by a vote of 366 to 21 (Roll Call 479). We have assigned pluses to the nays because Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution does not authorize Congress to establish conservation or wildlife programs. The 10th Amendment reserves any such powers to "the States respectively, or to the people."

40 Continuing Appropriations. H.R. 10545, also dubbed the "American Relief Act," would extend funding for federal-government operations at current levels through March 14, 2025, thereby averting a partial government shutdown that would otherwise have begun on December 21, 2024. The bill would also provide $110 billion for disaster aid, including $30.8 billion for farm losses, among other provisions. It does not include, however, a two-year suspension of the debt limit that was in an earlier version under a different bill number (H.R. 10515). Ironically, President-elect Donald Trump wanted the debt-limit suspension in the bill, but Democrats did not — the latter preferring to raise or suspend the debt limit under Trump's (not Biden's) watch.

Representative Tom Cole (R-Okla.) moved to suspend the rules and pass the stop-gap funding bill. His motion was agreed to on December 20, 2024 by a vote of 366 to 34 (Roll Call 517). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the misnamed American Relief Act will continue the Washington spendathon, thereby continuing to run up government debt without providing any relief. Instead of kicking the can further down the road, Congress must cut spending now, not later. ■

Votes:	31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
4 McCollum (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
5 Omar (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
6 Emmer (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	60%
7 Fischbach (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	78%
8 Stauber (R)	71%	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	+	-	-	65%
MISSISSIPPI												
1 Kelly (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	68%
2 Thompson (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
3 Guest (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	68%
4 Ezell (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	69%
MISSOURI												
1 Bush (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	?	?	?	-	-	-	15%
2 Wagner (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	48%
3 Luetkemeyer (R)	75%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	?	56%
4 Alford (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	73%
5 Cleaver (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
6 Graves (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	55%
7 Burlison (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	95%
8 Smith (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	64%
MONTANA												
1 Zinke (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	67%
2 Rosendale (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	98%
NEBRASKA												
1 Flood (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	48%
2 Bacon (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	35%
3 Smith (R)	67%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	-	55%
NEVADA												
1 Titus (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
2 Amodei (R)	56%	+	-	+	+	+	-	?	+	-	-	51%
3 Lee (D)	0%	-	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
4 Horsford (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
1 Pappas (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
2 Kuster (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	0%
NEW JERSEY												
1 Norcross (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
2 Van Drew (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	75%
3 Kim (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		3%
4 Smith (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	50%
5 Gottheimer (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	3%
6 Pallone (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
7 Kean (R)	40%	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	30%
8 Menendez (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
9 Pascrell (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			3%
10 McIver (D)										-	-	
11 Sherrill (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
12 Watson Coleman (D)		?	?	?	?	?	?	?	-	-	-	6%
NEW MEXICO												
1 Stansbury (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
2 Vasquez (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
3 Leger Fernandez (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	3%
NEW YORK												
1 LaLota (R)	40%	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	36%
2 Garbarino (R)	40%	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	33%
3 Suozzi (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	0%
4 D'Esposito (R)	40%	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	36%
5 Meeks (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
6 Meng (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
7 Velázquez (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
8 Jeffries (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
9 Clarke (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%

Votes:	31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
10 Goldman (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	3%
11 Malliotakis (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	55%
12 Nadler (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	8%
13 Espaillat (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
14 Ocasio-Cortez (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
15 Torres (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	5%
16 Bowman (D)		?	?	?	?	?	?	?	-	?	-	16%
17 Lawler (R)	40%	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	33%
18 Ryan (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
19 Molinaro (R)	44%	?	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	42%
20 Tonko (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
21 Stefanik (R)	56%	+	-	+	+	+	-	?	+	-	-	56%
22 Williams (R)	40%	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	41%
23 Langworthy (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	62%
24 Tenney (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	68%
25 Morelle (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
26 Kennedy (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
NORTH CAROLINA												
1 Davis (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
2 Ross (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
3 Murphy (R)		?	?	?	?	?	?	?	+	-	-	59%
4 Foushee (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
5 Foxx (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	63%
6 Manning (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
7 Rouzer (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	58%
8 Bishop (R)	100%	+	?	?	?	+	+	+	+	?	+	94%
9 Hudson (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	54%
10 McHenry (R)		+	?	?	+	?	?	?	?	-	-	52%
11 Edwards (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	44%
12 Adams (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
13 Nickel (D)	0%	-	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
14 Jackson (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	3%
NORTH DAKOTA												
AL Armstrong (R)	63%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	?	-		64%
OHIO												
1 Landsman (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
2 Wenstrup (R)	67%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	?	49%
3 Beatty (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
4 Jordan (R)	78%	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	-	-	85%
5 Latta (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	55%
6 Rulli (R)	67%					+	+	+	+	-	-	67%
7 Miller (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	50%
8 Davidson (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	88%
9 Kaptur (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
10 Turner (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	35%
11 Brown (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
12 Balderson (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	55%
13 Sykes (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
14 Joyce (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	37%
15 Carey (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	58%
OKLAHOMA												
1 Hern (R)	78%	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	-	-	82%
2 Brecheen (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
3 Lucas (R)	56%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	-	41%
4 Cole (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	38%
5 Bice (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	45%
OREGON												
1 Bonamici (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
2 Bentz (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	53%
3 Blumenauer (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	6%
4 Hoyle (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
5 Chavez-DeRemer (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	33%
6 Salinas (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%

The scores are derived by dividing the constitutionally correct votes (pluses) by the total number of pluses and minuses and multiplying by 100. (A "?" means a representative did not vote. If a representative cast fewer than five votes in this index, a score is not assigned.) Match numbers at the top of the chart to House vote descriptions on pages 26, 28, and 30.

	Votes:	31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
PENNSYLVANIA													
1	Fitzpatrick (R)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	18%
2	Boyle (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
3	Evans (D)		?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	0%
4	Dean (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
5	Scanlon (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
6	Houlahan (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
7	Wild (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
8	Cartwright (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
9	Meuser (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	56%
10	Perry (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	97%
11	Smucker (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	48%
12	Lee (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
13	Joyce (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	74%
14	Reschenthaler (R)	78%	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	64%
15	Thompson (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	43%
16	Kelly (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	47%
17	Deluzio (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
RHODE ISLAND													
1	Amo (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
2	Magaziner (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
SOUTH CAROLINA													
1	Mace (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	71%
2	Wilson (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	60%
3	Duncan (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	79%
4	Timmons (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	78%
5	Norman (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93%
6	Clyburn (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	0%
7	Fry (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	85%
SOUTH DAKOTA													
AL	Johnson (R)	56%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	-	54%
TENNESSEE													
1	Harshbarger (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	88%
2	Burchett (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	98%
3	Fleischmann (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	45%
4	DesJarlais (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	78%
5	Ogles (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	98%
6	Rose (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	67%
7	Green (R)	57%	+	-	+	+	?	?	?	+	-	-	70%
8	Kustoff (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	51%
9	Cohen (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
TEXAS													
1	Moran (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	62%
2	Crenshaw (R)	44%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	?	-	-	47%
3	Self (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90%
4	Fallon (R)	67%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	?	79%
5	Gooden (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	80%
6	Ellzey (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	55%
7	Fletcher (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	0%
8	Luttrell (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	75%
9	Green (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
10	McCaul (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	45%
11	Pfluger (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	60%
12	Granger (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	?	?	+	?	?	?	52%
13	Jackson (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	82%
14	Weber (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	78%
15	De La Cruz (R)	56%	+	+	?	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	47%
16	Escobar (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
17	Sessions (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	61%
18	Lee Carter (D)										-	-	
19	Arrington (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	68%
20	Castro (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9%
21	Roy (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
22	Nehls (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	82%
23	Gonzales (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	61%
24	Van Duyne (R)	80%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	78%
25	Williams (R)	89%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	?	81%
26	Burgess (R)	89%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	?	73%
27	Cloud (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	95%
28	Cuellar (D)	10%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%
29	Garcia (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
30	Crockett (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	-	-	?	3%
31	Carter (R)	67%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	-	49%
32	Allred (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	3%
33	Veasey (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
34	Gonzalez (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
35	Casar (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
36	Babin (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	72%
37	Doggett (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
38	Hunt (R)	86%	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	+	-	+	89%
UTAH													
1	Moore (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	46%
2	Maloy (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	50%
3	Curtis (R)	75%	+	-	+	+	?	-	+	+	?	+	69%
4	Owens (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	63%
VERMONT													
AL	Balint (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
VIRGINIA													
1	Wittman (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	50%
2	Kiggans (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	38%
3	Scott (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
4	McClellan (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
5	Good (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
6	Cline (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	93%
7	Spanberger (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
8	Beyer (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
9	Griffith (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	62%
10	Wexton (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
11	Connolly (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
WASHINGTON													
1	DelBene (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
2	Larsen (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
3	Perez (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
4	Newhouse (R)	56%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	?	45%
5	Rodgers (R)	78%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	?	62%
6	Kilmer (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
7	Jayapal (D)	0%	-	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%
8	Schrier (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
9	Smith (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
10	Strickland (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
WEST VIRGINIA													
1	Miller (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	67%
2	Mooney (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	92%
WISCONSIN													
1	Steil (R)	60%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	53%
2	Pocan (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	-	-	-	8%
3	Van Orden (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	55%
4	Moore (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	13%
5	Fitzgerald (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	75%
6	Grothman (R)	70%	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	68%
7	Tiffany (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	95%
8	Wied (R)										-	-	
WYOMING													
AL	Hageman (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93%

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Senate Vote Descriptions

31 Federal Reserve Activities. During consideration of a continuing appropriations resolution (H.R. 7463), Senator Rand Paul (R-Ky.) offered an amendment to prohibit the Federal Reserve from creating an emergency lending program or facility that purchases or sells the debt of any state or municipality.

The Senate rejected Paul's amendment on February 29, 2024 by a vote of 37 to 53 (Roll Call 63). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because this amendment would have been a step toward ultimately abolishing the unconstitutional Federal Reserve System. The Federal Reserve is the largest domestic holder of U.S. public debt, which has surpassed $36 trillion. It had already caused much damage to our nation's economy, through its inflationary policies and issuance of fiat currency, prior to its announcement during Covid-19 that it would also be willing to buy or sell the debt of state and local governments. According to Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution, only Congress has the power to "coin Money" and "regulate the Value thereof." Moreover, Article I, Section 10 specifies that "No State" shall "make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts."

AP Images

There's an app for that: The CBP One app has effectively allowed hundreds of thousands of illegal migrants to enter the United States and be granted parole, despite its lack of congressional authorization. The Senate narrowly rejected an amendment to gut this program.

32 CBP One App. During consideration of a consolidated appropriations bill (H.R. 2882), Senator Mike Lee (R-Utah) offered an amendment to prohibit federal funding for the use of the CBP One app to facilitate the entry of aliens into the United States. The app, which the Biden administration relaunched in January 2023, allows persons from any country who are physically present in Mexico to schedule appointments for immigration proceedings at U.S. ports of entry.

The Senate rejected Lee's amendment on March 22, 2024 by a vote of 45 to 51 (Roll Call 105). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because migrants who do not satisfy the conditions for asylum are often, upon their entry into the United States and release from custody, granted parole for up to two years under Title 8 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, making them eligible for work permits. Given that aliens are presumed to be ineligible for asylum if they enter the United States unlawfully after failing to seek refuge in a third country (e.g., Mexico), the CBP One app has effectively become a fraudulent gateway for millions of illegal migrants. Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution stipulates that Congress shall have the power to "establish a uniform Rule of Naturalization," and Article II, Section 3 requires the president to "take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed."

33 Spending Reductions. During consideration of a consolidated appropriations bill (H.R. 2882), Senator Rand Paul (R-Ky.) made a motion to refer the bill back to committee with instructions to amend it to reduce its overall funding by five percent, excluding funding for the Department of Defense and border security.

The Senate rejected Paul's amendment on March 23, 2024 by a vote of 34 to 63 (Roll Call 106). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because reining in government spending ought to be an urgent priority given that the national debt recently sur-

Senate Vote Scores ✓

Votes:	31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
ALABAMA												
Tuberville (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	87%
Britt (R)	89%	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	67%
ALASKA												
Murkowski (R)	50%	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	43%
Sullivan (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	65%
ARIZONA												
Sinema (I)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	18%
Kelly (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
ARKANSAS												
Boozman (R)	80%	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	58%
Cotton (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	65%
CALIFORNIA												
Padilla (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
Schiff (D)												
COLORADO												
Bennet (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
Hickenlooper (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
CONNECTICUT												
Blumenthal (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
Murphy (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
DELAWARE												
Carper (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
Coons (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
FLORIDA												
Rubio (R)	100%	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	78%
Scott (R)	86%	+	?	?	?	+	+	+	+	+	-	77%
GEORGIA												
Ossoff (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
Warnock (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	3%
HAWAII												
Schatz (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
Hirono (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
IDAHO												
Crapo (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	76%
Risch (R)	100%	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	76%
ILLINOIS												
Durbin (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
Duckworth (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
INDIANA												
Young (R)	70%	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	53%
Braun (R)	100%	+	?	?	?	+	+	+	+	?	+	100%
IOWA												
Grassley (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	60%
Ernst (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	68%
KANSAS												
Moran (R)	78%	?	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	58%
Marshall (R)	89%	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	87%
KENTUCKY												
McConnell (R)	70%	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	53%
Paul (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
LOUISIANA												
Cassidy (R)	89%	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	62%
Kennedy (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	78%

Votes:	31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
MAINE												
Collins (R)	50%	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	43%
King (I)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
MARYLAND												
Cardin (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
Van Hollen (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
MASSACHUSETTS												
Warren (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
Markey (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
MICHIGAN												
Stabenow (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
Peters (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
MINNESOTA												
Klobuchar (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
Smith (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
MISSISSIPPI												
Wicker (R)	70%	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	58%
Hyde-Smith (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	65%
MISSOURI												
Hawley (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	84%
Schmitt (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	89%
MONTANA												
Tester (D)	11%	-	-	-	-	+	-	?	-	-	-	18%
Daines (R)	89%	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	79%
NEBRASKA												
Fischer (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	68%
Ricketts (R)	78%	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	-	-	67%
NEVADA												
Cortez Masto (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
Rosen (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
Shaheen (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
Hassan (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
NEW JERSEY												
Booker (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	3%
Kim (D)											-	
NEW MEXICO												
Heinrich (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
Lujan (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
NEW YORK												
Schumer (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
Gillibrand (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
NORTH CAROLINA												
Tillis (R)	63%	+	+	-	+	+	+	?	?	-	-	54%
Budd (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	75%
NORTH DAKOTA												
Hoeven (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	65%
Cramer (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	67%
OHIO												
Brown (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	15%
Vance (R)	80%	?	+	-	+	+	?	+	?	?	?	85%
OKLAHOMA												
Lankford (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	73%
Mullin (R)	89%	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	-	64%

Votes:	31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
OREGON												
Wyden (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
Merkley (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
PENNSYLVANIA												
Casey (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	5%
Fetterman (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
RHODE ISLAND												
Reed (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
Whitehouse (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
SOUTH CAROLINA												
Graham (R)	80%	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	60%
Scott (R)	89%	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	77%
SOUTH DAKOTA												
Thune (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	63%
Rounds (R)	78%	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	-	55%
TENNESSEE												
Blackburn (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	82%
Hagerty (R)	78%	-	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	-	80%
TEXAS												
Cornyn (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	62%
Cruz (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	85%

Votes:	31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
UTAH												
Lee (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
Romney (R)	78%	?	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	51%
VERMONT												
Sanders (I)	20%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	25%
Welch (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
VIRGINIA												
Warner (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
Kaine (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
WASHINGTON												
Murray (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
Cantwell (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
WEST VIRGINIA												
Manchin (I)	33%	?	-	-	-	+	?	+	?	-	?	31%
Capito (R)	78%	+	+	-	+	+	?	+	+	+	-	59%
WISCONSIN												
Johnson (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	88%
Baldwin (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
WYOMING												
Barrasso (R)	89%	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	77%
Lummis (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	85%

The scores are derived by dividing the constitutionally correct votes (pluses) by the total number of pluses and minuses and multiplying by 100. (A "?" means a senator did not vote. If a senator cast fewer than five votes in this index, a score is not assigned.) Match numbers at the top of the chart to Senate vote descriptions on pages 33, 35, and 36.

passed $36 trillion. Members of Congress must also take more drastic and immediate action to eliminate all spending that is not specifically authorized by Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution. Their ongoing failure to do so is contributing to the erosion and decline of the American Republic.

34 Migrant Parole Program. During consideration of a consolidated appropriations bill (H.R. 2882), Senator Bill Hagerty (R-Tenn.) made a motion to offer an amendment to prohibit funds in the bill from being used to fly in illegal migrants under the Department of Homeland Security's "Processes for Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans and Venezuelans" (CHNV) parole program and resettle them in towns and cities across the United States.

The Senate rejected Hagerty's amendment on March 23, 2024 by a vote of 47 to 51 (Roll Call 112). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the Constitution does not authorize the federal government to facilitate the transportation of illegal migrants into the United States.

35 EPA Tailpipe Emissions Rule. S. 4072 would have prohibited the use of fiscal 2024 funding to implement, enforce, or administer certain EPA rules on tailpipe emissions for vehicles. This includes the proposed May 2023 rule and the final March 2024 rule setting multipollutant emissions standards for light-duty and medium-duty vehicles for model years 2027 and beyond.

The Senate rejected S. 4072 on April 18, 2024 by a vote of 52 to 46 (Roll Call 142; a 60-vote majority was required for passage). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the federal government has no constitutional authority to impose environmental regulations.

36 Courtney Diesel O'Donnell Nomination. President Joe Biden nominated Courtney Diesel O'Donnell to serve as the U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), with the rank of ambassador.

The Senate confirmed O'Donnell's nomination on May 15, 2024 by a vote of 49 to 45 (Roll Call 164). We have assigned pluses to the nays because this vote marked the return of the United States to the Paris-based organization, reversing its formal exit by the Trump administration in 2018. Yet rather than merely leaving UNESCO, the United States should fully withdraw from the entire United Nations system. The UN poses one of the greatest threats to U.S. sovereignty and the God-given rights of the American people, as its charter is antithetical to the U.S. Constitution. Congress must pursue a sound, traditional foreign policy of noninterventionism, based on U.S. interests and the original intent of the Founding Fathers.

37 Consumer Furnaces Rule. Senate Joint Resolution 58 would reverse a December 2023 Department of Energy rule setting stricter energy-efficiency standards for non-weatherized and mobile-home gas furnaces at 95-percent annual fuel utilization efficiency. The rule seeks to reduce emissions of carbon dioxide, nitrogen oxide, and methane, though it would increase sulfur-dioxide and mercury emissions due to higher electricity use.

The Senate passed S. J. Res. 58 on May 21, 2024 by a vote of 50 to 45 (Roll Call 176). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the Constitution does not autho-

rize the federal government to regulate furnaces and other appliances.

38 In Vitro Fertilization. S. 4445, also known as the "Right to IVF Act," would, in the words of the bill, "protect and expand nationwide access to fertility treatment, including in vitro fertilization."

The Senate did not vote directly on S. 4445, but on a motion by Senator Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.) to invoke cloture (and thus limit debate) so the bill could be voted on. The motion to invoke cloture was rejected on September 17, 2024 by a vote of 51 to 44 (Roll Call 242; a three-fifths majority of the entire Senate is required to invoke cloture). We have assigned pluses to the nays because IVF is not included in the powers delegated to the federal government by the Constitution. Moreover, in February 2024, the Alabama Supreme Court ruled that frozen embryos should be considered children, just as should be the case with embryos in the mother's womb. The destruction of frozen embryos — which is common in the IVF process — is the destruction of innocent human life.

39 Canceling Ukrainian Debt. On November 18, 2024, President Biden submitted to Congress his plan to cancel $4.65 billion in Ukrainian debt owed to the United States. To block this debt forgiveness, Senator Rand Paul (R-Ky.) offered a resolution (Senate Joint Resolution 117) to disapprove the president's proposal.

The Senate rejected Paul's motion on November 20, 2024 by a vote of 37 to 61 (Roll Call 295). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the $4.65 billion, which is just a small fraction of U.S. aid to Ukraine, not only should *not* be canceled, but never should have been loaned to Ukraine in the first place. Moreover, the United States should not interject itself into the Russia-Ukraine war by providing aid to one of the combatants, and should instead follow a noninterventionist foreign policy that puts America first.

40 Continuing Appropriations. H.R. 10545, also dubbed the "American Relief Act," would extend funding for federal-government operations at current levels through March 14, 2025, thereby averting a partial government shutdown that would otherwise have begun on December 21, 2024. The bill would also provide $110 billion for disaster aid, including $30.8 billion for farm losses, among other provisions. It does not include, however, a two-year suspension of the debt limit that was in an earlier version under a different bill number (H.R. 10515). Ironically, President-elect Donald Trump wanted the debt-limit suspension in the bill, but Democrats did not — the latter preferring to raise or suspend the debt limit under Trump's (not Biden's) watch.

The Senate passed (and thus cleared for the president to sign) the stop-gap funding bill on December 21, 2024 by a vote of 85 to 11 (Roll Call 339). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the misnamed American Relief Act will continue the Washington spendathon, thereby continuing to run up government debt without providing any relief. Instead of kicking the can further down the road, Congress must cut spending now, not later. ■

"A View for a Room"

On December 8, Roswell Park Comprehensive Cancer Center in Buffalo, New York, installed murals by artist and cancer survivor Colleen Wall. These murals, part of Wall's LandEscape series, were designed to provide comfort to chemotherapy patients by depicting serene, outdoor-inspired scenes, Good News Network reported.

The project, titled "A View for a Room — Transforming Healthcare Spaces," began a decade ago as a Kickstarter-funded initiative. It was inspired by Wall's experience as an artist-in-residence on the oncology floor of Women's & Children's Hospital of Buffalo. A patient's comment about the monotony of the hospital view prompted Wall to create art that brings elements of nature into healthcare settings.

The installation includes nine window murals and a 29-foot community mural, unveiled during National Arts & Health Month. Each mural features natural elements such as pathways and uplifting phrases to offer patients a sense of escape and hope during treatment.

"These paintings are meant to help patients feel less confined and imagine themselves in peaceful, outdoor settings," Wall explained. "This art is my way of sharing hope and encouragement."

Wall's involvement in National Arts & Health Month began in 1995 after her own cancer diagnosis during pregnancy. Since recovering, she has focused on creating artwork that inspires and comforts patients.

Global Sock Empire

John Cronin, a 28-year-old entrepreneur from Huntington on Long Island, New York, is proving how determination and inclusion can redefine business success. As the founder of John's Crazy Socks, the world's largest online sock retailer, John has turned his love for colorful socks into a thriving global enterprise, the *New York Post* reported. Headquartered in Farmingdale, New York, the business not only exemplifies innovation, but also highlights the potential of individuals with differing abilities to lead and succeed on a global stage.

Founded in 2016 with support from his parents, Mark and Carol, and his brother Jamie, John's Crazy Socks began as a way to combine John's passion for creative designs with a mission to spread happiness. Today, the company offers nearly 4,000 unique sock designs, ranging from holiday themes to awareness campaigns, and has shipped products to 89 countries.

The company's commitment to inclusion is reflected in its workforce, which employs 35 staff members during peak seasons, many of whom have differing abilities. This focus has not only provided meaningful employment, but also helped the company maintain a less-than-one-percent error margin in fulfilling orders.

Beyond its business success, John's Crazy Socks has made a significant impact in the community, donating nearly $800,000 to charitable causes. Customers enjoy a personalized touch with every order, receiving notes and candy that reflect the company's mission to spread happiness.

As chief happiness officer, John Cronin continues to lead by example, showing how a business built on joy and inclusion can thrive while making a meaningful impact on the world.

A Delivery Better Than Pizza

Theo Alano's battle with end-stage kidney failure took a dramatic turn when a social-media post from pizzeria owner Mark Iacono led to a life-saving kidney donation, *Good Morning America* reported. Alano's health crisis began unexpectedly when a routine hospital visit revealed he was in need of a transplant. With no family members able to donate and facing a long wait for a donor in New York, Alano turned to social media for help, sharing his story in mid-November.

Among those who saw the post was Iacono, owner of the popular Brooklyn pizzeria Lucali, which has nearly 250,000 followers on Instagram. Iacono shared Alano's message with his audience, and within 24 hours, it reached Rusty Rastello, a hospitality professional inspired by his late uncle's decision to donate a kidney. After consulting with his fiancée, Rastello decided to offer Alano a chance at life, saying, "I don't know if I can qualify, but I'm throwing my name in the hat for you."

Rastello and Alano underwent testing, and when Rastello was confirmed as a perfect match, Alano was overwhelmed with gratitude. "I collapsed on the street — I couldn't believe it," he recalled.

The successful kidney transplant saved Alano's life, and the bond between the two men grew. Rastello noted an immediate change in Alano, saying, "Less than 12 hours later, Theo was a totally different person — the light and color came back to his face."

Thanks to Lucali's platform and Rastello's selflessness, Alano now has a second chance at life, highlighting the power of community and unexpected connections.

Raising Honor

Tessa and Raya Ziegler, two sisters from Ohio, have raised over $30,000 to support the Honor Flight Network, an organization that arranges travel for veterans to Washington, D.C., where they can visit memorials honoring their service. The girls have helped fund flights for veterans of the Vietnam and Korean Wars, many of whom never received the homecoming they deserved, according to Fox News.

The sisters, ages 12 and eight, were inspired to get involved after attending an Honor Flight with their mother. Tessa shared, "My mom inspired me because her friend invited us to an Honor Flight, and we just really liked it." Raya added, "I love our veterans because they're so nice." Witnessing the joy and gratitude of the veterans has fueled their passion to continue supporting the cause.

The funds have helped to provide much-needed encouragement for veterans who were often met with disrespect after returning home from war. Their mother, Rachel Ziegler, reflected on the emotional importance of the Honor Flight homecomings, saying, "A lot of [the veterans] were spit on, and people tried to fight them. So, to be there at these Honor Flight homecomings and ... give them the homecoming that they truly deserved ... it just gets really emotional." ■

— Raven Clabough

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★★★★★ July 10, 2017
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Allen Banks
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Intruder Breaks In Through the Balcony

WLWT.com reported on December 9 out of West Chester Township, Ohio, about a terrifying break-in that occurred in the middle of the night. A 911 call captured the moments immediately after the husband was forced to shoot the intruder, who made his way into the house through the balcony.

The wife told the 911 dispatcher that an intruder was in the house. The husband then took the phone and explained that he confronted the intruder on the second floor of the house and shot him. "He's in my living room. He has a gun." The man further told the 911 dispatcher that the burglar "came through the balcony."

Police soon arrived on the scene and transported the injured suspect to a nearby medical facility, where he succumbed to his wounds. The investigation is still ongoing, but the couple is cooperating with authorities.

"Jarring and Scary"

Fox4News.com reported on November 11 out of DeSoto, Texas, about a suspect who followed a woman home from a restaurant.

The woman told police that as she pulled into her garage, another car pulled in behind her and an armed man jumped out and tried entering her house. Fortunately, the woman was able to retrieve a firearm. She shot the suspect in both the face and the chest, and he collapsed in the garage. She called 911, and police soon arrived on the scene. The wounded suspect was taken to a nearby medical facility for treatment for his life-threatening injuries.

The suspect was later identified as 35-year-old Octavio Flores Mondragon. Police did discover a loaded gun by his body, which they believe he was using in the commission of his crime. Mondragon was charged with felony burglary. Neighbors in the area were shaken up, since they don't normally experience this type of crime. Neighbor Joe Kindred told Fox4News that there "was a lot of confusion going on" shortly after the shooting. "We just don't have this kind of activity here, so it was jarring and scary," he said.

"Every Homeowner's Greatest Fear"

CBS12.com reported on November 10 out of Ruskin, Florida, about a burglar who was killed when he attempted a late-night burglary. Police investigators say the adult son of the homeowners confronted the burglar shortly after he broke in to the house, and shot him multiple times. Police were called to the scene, where they discovered the body of the deceased suspect.

Sheriff Chad Chronister of the Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office released a statement in which he expressed sympathy for the family who had to face such a terrifying ordeal. "Imagine the fear of being awoken in the middle of the night to a stranger invading your home…. This is every homeowner's greatest fear, a dangerous and brazen individual breaking in, showing a complete disregard for the safety and security of others. Our thoughts are with this family as they recover from the trauma of this event," he wrote.

Housewarming Party?

RochesterFirst.com reported on December 9 out of Rochester, New York, about what appears to be a justified shooting that occurred the previous weekend.

The incident unfolded only a day after a family moved into a house in the city. The father was home with his family when he heard the sound of a door being kicked in around 5:30 in the morning. He armed himself and went down to investigate, and encountered a group of people who had broken in to his home. At least one of the intruders was armed, and he and the father exchanged gunfire. Both men were shot, the suspect fatally.

According to a police press release, "The occupants woke up after hearing a rear first floor door being kicked in. Multiple voices were heard downstairs, at which time the adult male exited the room where everyone was sleeping, armed himself with a handgun, and entered a different (empty) 2nd story room." As the father shot at the armed suspect, the accomplices fled from the scene. Police were soon called, and they found the deceased suspect in the house. The father was treated for a non-life-threatening gunshot wound. Law enforcement are still investigating the incident, but they did specify that there will be no charges related to the shooting death of the suspect since the action appears to be justifiable.

The Emotional Scars of Armed Self-defense

The Virginian-Pilot published an interesting article on November 11 about the toll that engaging in a self-defense shooting might take on a person. The paper interviewed a man, who wished to remain anonymous, who fatally shot a robber at a 7-Eleven five years ago. The man explained that nothing has been the same since that day.

The Virginian-Pilot explained that if you engage in armed self-defense and end up facing criminal charges, the whole process can take years, even if you're ultimately acquitted. Mario Lorello, a defense attorney for the Norfolk, Virginia, firm Zoby & Broccoletti, P.C., told the paper, "I think that going through a trial as a defendant or as a client is probably one of the most stressful things that someone can experience." Lorello also explained that you're usually at the mercy of the local prosecutors as to whether they will view your case as one they want to bring to trial or not. "How a police department or how a Commonwealth Attorney's office or a district attorney's office view self-defense and which cases should or should not go to trial is going to vary from city to city to city," he said.

In the case of the 7-Eleven shooting, the man did everything in accordance with the law and never faced any charges for his actions, but the emotional aftermath still haunts him. "I couldn't think clear for [years].… You're never going to be the same after that," he said. The man did say, however, that he still has a strong will to survive and is still a firm believer in the Second Amendment: "I've got the right to defend." ■

— Patrick Krey

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THE REVIEW

The Marxist Playbook

by Steve Byas

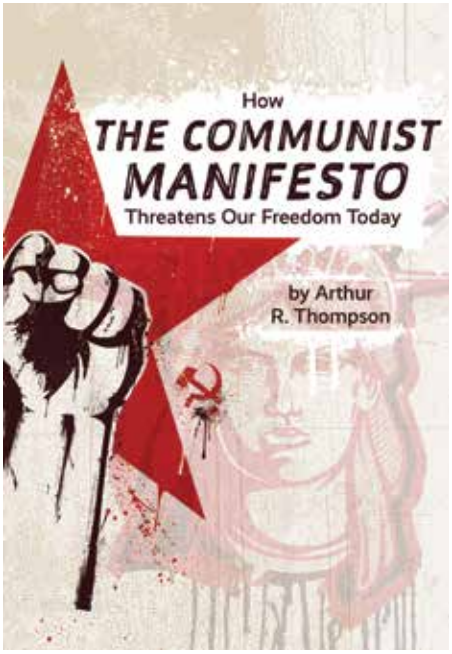
***How the Communist Manifesto Threatens Our Freedom Today*,** by Arthur R. Thompson, Appleton, Wisconsin: The John Birch Society, 2024, 84 pages, paperback.

An old adage familiar to football fans is that a coach should keep using the plays that work. In his short book *How the Communist Manifesto Threatens Our Freedom Today*, the late Arthur R. Thompson, former CEO of The John Birch Society, makes the case that communists, by whatever name they are called, are still using the same playbook they have used since the inception of their conspiracy to impose a one-world, socialist, totalitarian dictatorship.

As Thompson puts it, Karl Marx's *Communist Manifesto* "still serves as a primer for the communist movement around the world."

The *Manifesto* lists 10 major steps for communizing a country, and Thompson notes that two of these steps were "established into law in the United States just after the turn of the 20th century: the income tax and the Federal Reserve, or national bank."

Although Marx is often referred to as "the father of communism" due to his co-authorship (along with Friedrich Engels) of the *Manifesto*, Thompson makes a convincing case that Marx did not originate the conspiracy to establish a one-world dictatorship. Rather, the roots of communism can be traced back to the anti-Christian secret societies — most notably the Bavarian Illuminati — that brought on the bloody French Revolution.



In 1776, the Illuminati was founded in Bavaria (a state in what is now Germany) for the express purpose of obliterating all religion and consolidating all governments into a single, one-world government ruled by Illuminati leaders. Marx's collaborator, Engels, said that the organization that commissioned him and Marx to write the *Manifesto* — the League of Outlaws — was the German branch of certain French secret societies, chief of which was the Illuminati. The most radical elements became first the League of the Just, and then the Communist League.

The goals of the Illuminati and its evil spawn, the Communist Party, were the same: a one-world government and the elimination of God. Thompson cites Winston Churchill, who warned against this conspiracy in 1920. "From the days of Spartacus-Weishaupt [who founded the secret order of the Illuminati on May 1, 1776] to those of Karl Marx," Churchill wrote, "this world-wide conspiracy for the overthrow of civilization and for the reconstitution of society on the basis of arrested development, of envious malevolence, and impossible equality, has been steadily growing."

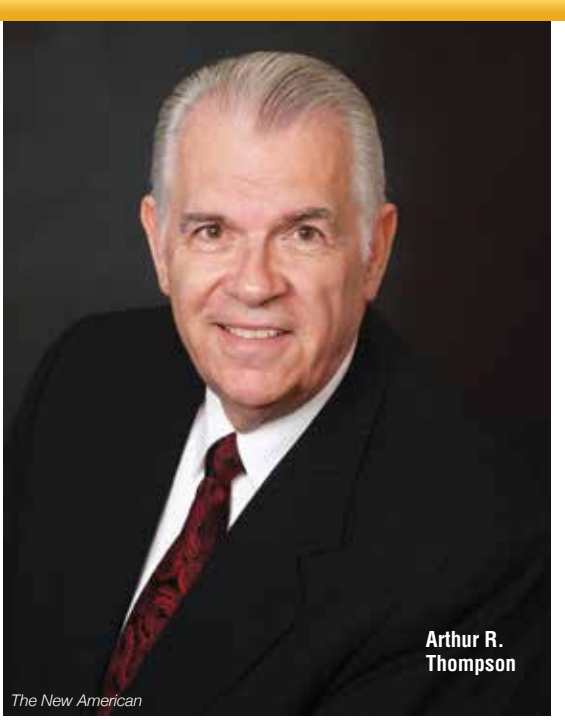
Churchill asserted that the Illuminati played a large role in the "tragedy of the French Revolution," and has been "the mainspring of every subversive movement during the Nineteenth Century."

Marx himself, writing in 1845, said that the "communist idea" of a "new world order" originated with the French Cercle Social in 1789, which was led by a member of the Illuminati.

After establishing the origins of communism, Thompson analyzes the tenets outlined by Marx and Engels in *The Communist Manifesto*. First, the *Manifesto* is predicated on what Thompson dismisses as a "pseudo-history," in which Marx separates society into a ruling class and a ruled class, dubbed respectively the *bourgeoisie* and the *proletariat*. "The entire idea was to divide people," Thompson explains, "in order to get them opposing

each other in class warfare." We can certainly see this in our modern society, with all of the divisive rhetoric of critical race theory, DEI, and the like, attempting to divide people along racial or "gender" lines.

Another tactic of the communists is to attack the family, which Thompson defends as the "basic unit of civilization." This attack is not carried out to elevate the individual, however, as individualism is similarly opposed in favor of group or "class" identity. The communists desire loyalty only to the state (when they control it) and not to anything else, such as family. Thompson argues that this leads to stagnation of society, because "society doesn't invent — individuals do."



The New American

Despite the propaganda of "equality," the reality is, "There is no communist or socialist state where the rulers live at the same economic level as the people," Thompson explains.

The *Manifesto* attacks the concept of private property, but the Founding Fathers saw private property as fundamental to a free society. Thompson cites John Adams, who said, "The moment the idea is admitted into society that property is not as sacred as the laws of God, anarchy and tyranny commence."

This assault on private property is pervasive today, and global elitists at the World Economic Forum and their ilk even assert that the day is coming when "you'll own nothing," and you'll "be happy." Thompson responds to that assertion bluntly, arguing that this is the "siren song of communism." It is also an attack upon the 10th Commandment in the Bible, which forbids coveting. The Fourth and Fifth Commandments also specifically defend property rights.

"Control is more important than ownership," Thompson explains. While a person may retain title to property, it can be so regulated by government at all levels "as to what you may or may not do with it, through zoning, compacts, environmental regulations, etc.," that ownership becomes meaningless.

No wonder that the abolition of private property is "step one" to communism in the *Manifesto*. Step two is a progressive income tax; step three is the abolition of inheritance; step four is the confiscation of the property of rebels; step five is a national bank; step six is the centralization of communication and transport; step seven is the state ownership of production; step eight is the requirement of all to labor; step nine is the state distribution of land; and step 10 is government control of education.

Once a society has been "re-educated" in communist principles, the state will wither away, Marx promised. In Chapter Four of his book, Thompson calls this "baloney."

In Chapter Six, Thompson analyzes the communist attack upon patriotism (Marx asserted that "working men have no country"). Thompson directly challenges the "free trade" philosophy, arguing that it leads to reduced national sovereignty and the drive toward one-world government. Karl Marx was for free trade, for that very purpose, and in a speech in Belgium in 1848, he argued that free trade "breaks up old nationalities.… In a word, the free trade system hastens the social revolution."

"Free trade is not free," Thompson explains. "Once government becomes involved in trade it becomes regulated trade." He notes that "free trade" agreements bring trade under the control of the United Nations, and super-governmental committees are established to regulate and determine the future of not only trade, but banking, manufacturing, and more. The Constitution of the United States is subjugated.

Donald Trump's United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement was billed as simply facilitating "free trade" among the three North American nations, but then-Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto hailed it as the "economic integration of North America."

Chapter Nine analyzes the way the flood of immigrants into the United States advances the cause of communism. Thompson offers the historical example of the Visigoths, whose mass immigration into the Roman Empire contributed greatly to its eventual demise.

The fear of many Republicans today seems to be that immigrants will vote Democratic, but Thompson explains this is "too simplistic." The reality is that mass immigration will lead to the elimination of borders and "allow the free flow of peoples into other countries." This, of course, advances the Marxist goal of consolidating all peoples of the world into a one-world, socialist state.

Thompson concludes with a chapter on what can be done about all of this.

"Many conservative individuals want to be left alone, to be able to work, raise their families, enjoy life as they please, and mind their own business. They eschew joining organizations," he says.

Nevertheless, he urges those concerned about the degeneration of our society into totalitarianism to get involved in a *constitutional* (not just "conservative") organization that stands for godly morality, one that is organized at the local level as well as nationally to work in concert to counter the communist agenda, and one that is planning for the "long run" rather than simply getting involved in the issue of the day. Thompson cites the great English conservative Edmund Burke: "When bad men combine, the good must associate, else they will fall, one by one."

The organization that Thompson recommends is The John Birch Society (parent organization of *The New American*). Thompson was the CEO of JBS for 15 years, until his retirement in 2020. He passed away in 2024, but left behind much good for his fellow man, including this book. ■

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THE LAST WORD

To Restore the Constitution,

Shut Down Most of the Government — Permanently

by R. Cort Kirkwood

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Joseph Sobran, the late columnist and constitutional scholar, used to say that "anything called a program," meaning most of what the federal government does, is unconstitutional. The bazillion-dollar "continuing resolution" to fund the government, which was larded with unconstitutional pork, illustrates this point. Congress passed a so-called clean bill, yet the original resolution's failure nearly shut down the government, which would have been a baleful turn of events. Or so we are told every time those bad conservatives on Capitol Hill refuse to approve a bill loaded with more waste — this one included funding for a "gay senior home" — than Staten Island's Fresh Kills Landfill. The point is, most of the government *should be* shut down.

What the shutdown hysterics fear most would have meant nothing to the average American even as late as the early 20th century. Until then, a mailman was about the only federal agent with whom Americans had contact. Americans paid zero federal income tax. But at least in 1913, federal lawmakers still thought enough of their nation's primordial law to propose and solicit the states to ratify the 16th Amendment, which permitted the federal government to levy the tax.

The legislators who conceived that tax didn't likely anticipate what mischief lay ahead, once politicians learned they could confiscate tens of millions, then hundreds of millions, then billions and hundreds of billions of dollars to spend as they wish. The ensuing cash bonanza enabled them to create afterward one unconstitutional "program" after another: education, welfare, Medicaid, etc. The unconstitutional Social Security and Medicare programs are subsidized by their own unconstitutional taxes.

Recall what then-House Speaker Nancy Pelosi replied when a reporter asked what codicil of the Constitution permitted the government to force Americans to buy health insurance via ObamaCare: "Are you serious?" Even as late as the 1950s, we must have been. As Sobran noted, Congress called interstate highways a defense project so they would survive a constitutional challenge. How quaint we were before Madame Pelosi showed us what real modern government was all about.

Except that the question the reporter asked was entirely correct.

"The Constitution does two things," Sobran wrote decades ago: "First, it delegates certain enumerated powers to the federal government. Second, it separates those powers among the three branches.... Consider this. We have recently had a big national debate over national health care. Advocates and opponents argued long and loud over whether it could work, what was fair, how to pay for it, and so forth. But almost nobody raised the basic issue: Where does the federal government get the power to legislate in this area? The answer is: Nowhere. The Constitution lists 18 specific legislative powers of Congress, and not a one of them covers national health care."

That is true for most of what the federal government does, but now, such is its scope and power — such is the average American's dependence on its largesse or myriad activities — that millions fear a government shutdown, even for 30 days, while an American of the recent past wouldn't even have known it. If he had, he wouldn't have cared.

The vote for Ross Perot in 1992, Sobran observed, showed that "discontent with the ruling system … is deep and widespread among several classes of people: Christians, conservatives, gun owners, taxpayers, and simple believers in honest government all have their reasons."

The election on November 5, 2024 showed the same thing, except that the "discontent" is deeper. It borders on outright hostility. Consider: In Donald Trump Americans elected a former president who has been the target of ruthless, unending propaganda and a lawfare campaign to jail him, not to mention two suspiciously timed and carried-out assassination attempts.

Sobran often joked that the "Constitution poses no threat to our form of government." But of course it does. Which is why he concluded that we needn't "invent a new system of government," but instead must "restore the one described in the Constitution."

And that, of course, would mean shutting down most of the federal government — permanently. ■

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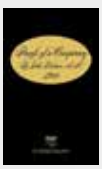

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